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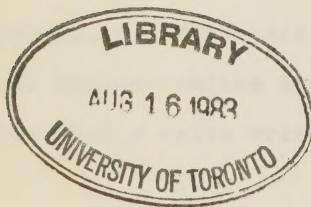
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

AND

PUBLIC POLICY

A Report on concern of the South Asian Canadian
Community regarding their place in the Canadian
Mosaic.

Bhauseheb Ubale Ph.D.



A Report submitted to the Attorney General of Ontario.

In order to have a strong impact on the problems of the South Asian community, the document had to be more comprehensive. It had to involve the entire South Asian Community as far as possible.

The Honourable Roy McMurtry, the Attorney General, welcomed this approach on behalf of the Government and assured me that the report would be studied with interest when it appeared. He also communicated that to the South Asian community leaders.

To produce a document of this nature without adequate resources was an uphill task, but it had to be done. I was overwhelmed by the positive response I received from all quarters in carrying out my task.

It must be pointed out that when a South Asian in Canada writes something about his own community, he or she is vulnerable to criticism from the native white community on the grounds of possible subjectivity. There are two parties involved in the field of racial issues--whites and non-whites. Hence, there is no guarantee that a white writer will be less subjective.

Since I belong to the South Asian community and at the same time have studied and worked at various levels in the West for nearly thirteen years, I think I have been able to be fair in my assessment and analysis.

As it stands today, this document takes the form of a report in which the concerns of the South Asian community are analysed and interpreted. The findings are reported together with policy recommendations.

This report originated at the grass roots level and its contents were approved by the Community before its submission. A report of this nature has more far reaching policy implications than one which is as usual imposed on society by the Government from the top.

No precise parallel can perhaps be found for an investigation of this nature but there is a first time for everything. The South Asian community responded quickly to the Government's request. I on my part have produced the report with very limited resources but I think in the spirit and with the 'integrity' of the genuinely concerned citizen. The report should be judged as it deserves to be judged on its merits alone.

Once that has been said, it remains only to add that I have had much co-operation from the Government especially from the Ministry of the Attorney General and the Ontario Human Rights Commission. I offer them my sincere thanks.


The initiation and completion of this report represent the interest and assistance of many people.....

Acknowledgement to be written in the final draft as
this report is not yet completed.

I accept full responsibility for any errors or deficiencies that
may appear in the interpretation of events and in my analysis or
conclusions.

September....., 1977

Bhansaheb Ubale



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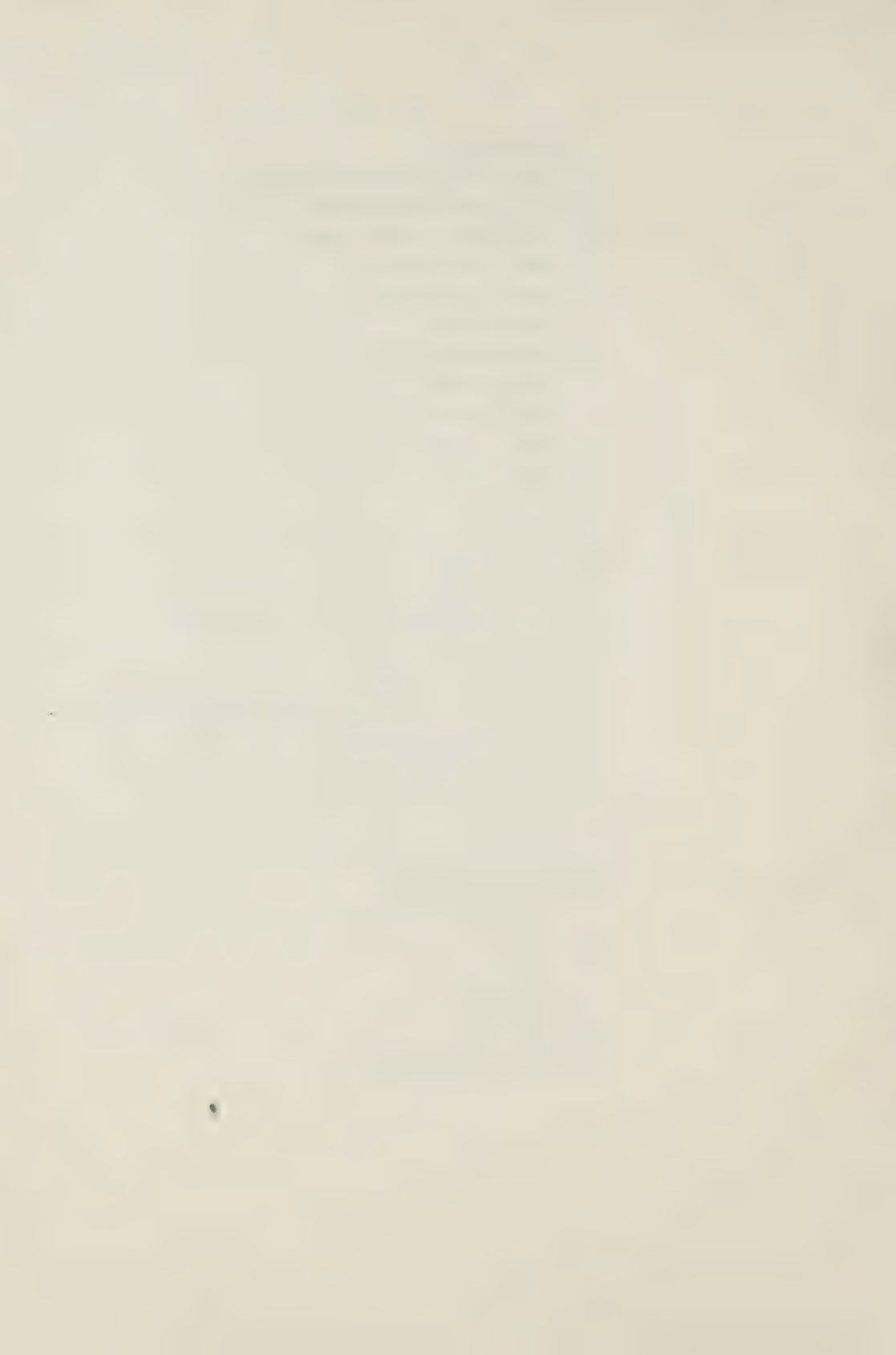
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Concern

"In Toronto, in recent months, the number of attacks on South Asian Canadians has increased without precedent, and the violence of these attacks has escalated. Nearly half the complaints received by the Ontario Human Rights Commission in the past year have concerned racial problems" says a spokesman of the Commission.

This statement by the OHRC reflects the seriousness of the situation faced by the South Asian Canadian community. Furthermore the intensity of racial violence has created fear, a sense of insecurity and a great deal of racial tension among the South Asian Canadian community.

Antipathy towards South Asian Canadians has also been manifested in discriminatory practices in employment. More than 60 per cent of South Asian Canadians are professionals and technocrats. Their mere presence at the Canadian port of entry saves Canada millions of dollars which Canada would have otherwise had to spend on looking after and educating a population of this size. In other words, they constitute a productive asset to Canada acquired without any investment and ready to make a productive contribution to the economy at once. Unfortunately, artificial barriers have been created against them in one form or another.

Under the existing immigration procedure, South Asian Canadian immigrants like others are selected by Canadian missions abroad on the basis of their education and the demand for their skills in Canada. Yet, when they land on Canadian soil they are demeaned

in inferior jobs unworthy of their talents or are subjected to prolonged unemployment.

In the field of education, the situation is equally disturbing. Ontario is a multicultural and multiracial province. Every third inhabitant of the province is neither British nor French by origin. We have living hererepresentatives of some 70 ethno-cultural groups of people from every continent and people of every race. This makes up the Canadian Mosaic. One would have thought that Canadian educational policy would reflect this multicultural make up of society.

Unfortunately, this cultural and racial diversity is deteriorating into divisions and conflict. After two stabbing incidents involving non-white and white students in the summer of 1975 in Toronto, a study commissioned by the Toronto Board of Education criticised teachers in one area for ignoring racial slurs and not taking action even when students showed up with knives and Chains. Another report revealed that many teachers and principals were resisting multi-cultural programs. A study by Janet Rosenstock and Dennis Adair showed that 60 per cent of the students have some negative feelings about people of South Asian origin. They said "talking about physical assaults on East Indians has become a pastime among some teenagers in Ontario schools."

However, the nature of the violence and discrimination, and the numerous forms they take make it difficult to define them in precise statistical terms. Moreover, very few cases are reported in the media or to law enforcement agencies.

The cumulative effect of these two factors is that there is a tendency among the public at large to underestimate the grave effects that such violence or discrimination have had on the South Asian community. Moreover, policy makers very often treat these act as isolated incidents and accordingly contemplate only temporary preventive measure to deal with them. Unfortunately, the antipathy towards South Asians goes much deeper than isolated racial attacks. It is related to Canadian economic conditions, attitudes, assumptions and intentions. This calls for wide ranging policy reforms to protect the interests of minority groups and at the same time to promote the social, cultural and economic conditions in the country as a whole. The intensity of violence and the extent of discrimination on the one hand and the prevailing apathy on the part of policy makers on the other, lead to frustration and resentment within the South Asian community.

Such breakdowns of mutual trust between the Government and minority groups is harmful, both in the short-term and in the long term. In the long run, the ultimate result may be the creation of a conflict-prone society where racial tension and violence may override racial harmony and socio-economic progress. Hence, it is only by discussing racial issues calmly and openly and by framing suitable programs to deal with racial violence and discrimination that we can hope to eliminate this cancer from Canadian society in the foreseeable future.

1.2. Main aim of this Report

The main aim of this report, therefore, is to investigate the concerns and experiences of the South Asian Canadian community relating to racial issues. However, it is important to point out that this is not a document intended to contain a catalogue of complaints by the South Asian community but is presented rather as a discussion of problems and policies. It aims to provide a useful basis for a constructive and informed debate about the role that public policy should perform in absorbing the South Asian and other minority groups in the kind of new society Canadians wish to create for themselves and their children. The basic concerns of South Asians are precisely the same as those of other Canadians; a decent home at a fair price, steady income for the breadwinner from a job appropriate to his skills, and a good education and fair opportunities for their children.

They would like to be treated fairly and equally and to enter into the mainstream of Canadian national life. This is what South Asians want for themselves and even more for their children. It is hoped that a fair society will encourage them to seek it, and to recognize both their rights and their responsibilities in helping to create a harmonious Canada.

The concerns felt by the South Asian community and the analysis presented in this document should be viewed from that angle.

This document is more policy oriented and less complaint oriented. This is because it assumes that a certain amount of racism exists in Canadian society.

It is obvious to any casual reader of daily newspapers, that this is so. Canadian racial attitudes and practices are increasingly the subject of discussion and debate. Public meetings, conferences and workshops are continually being held to discuss the problem of prejudice and discrimination in Canadian life. This emergence of public concern is not accidental; there is increasingly evidence that at least a few out and out racist groups do exist in Canadian society and that more subtle and less overt but nevertheless quite definite racist feelings are quite widespread. The records of the complaints received by the Ontario Human Rights Commission relating to racial violence and to discrimination serve as eloquent testimony to the prevalence of widespread racial violence and discrimination in Ontario in general and Toronto in particular.

1.3. The Scope of this Report

It is important to point out at the outset that the main thrust of this report is to map out the main area of concern. It is felt that if necessary, in-depth studies in those areas can be carried out at a subsequent stage. Hence, what we have attempted to do here is to present a preliminary analysis of a number of racial issues and also to indicate the areas of further research. Also, when speaking about the South Asian Canadian community, it is difficult to separate their concerns totally from the situation visible minorities in general find themselves in. However, in view of time, finance and other constraints, it was not possible to cover concerns and experiences in all areas of Race Relations. We have, therefore, concentrated our examination on three major areas- violence, employment and education. We feel that these areas are of

immediate concern to the South Asian Canadian community and for that matter, other visible minority Canadian communities. If effective remedial measures are employed in these areas, race relations in other areas may be improved automatically, as spillover effects of these measures.

In addition, this report is based on the community's input and must reflect the community concerns. To that extent, this report deviates from the normal format of independent academic research.

Community relations are the concern of all three levels of government--Federal, Provincial and Municipal. The federal government is too remote from the community's problem, whereas the municipal government is too localized. It is the provincial government which is ideally placed in the central position and can therefore take effective measures in the field of community relations and while at the same time might coordinate the activities of the federal and municipal governments who equally bear responsibility in the most important area. It is for this reason that this report is addressed to the provincial government.

1.4. Methodology

At a very early stage of this work, the methodological aspects of this study posed a number of problems. In scientific research, one proposes a hypothesis and tests it by collecting relevant data or conversely, one selects a representative sample, undertakes a thorough investigation and arrives at a conclusion.

Had this been an independent research project, one could have adopted either of these two approaches. Other methodological tools are available to a commission of inquiry or journalistic reporting.

The present report, however, did not fall into any of these categories. As initially proposed, each South Asian organization was asked to submit a brief to the Attorney-General expressing its concerns, experiences and suggestions. Firstly, not all organizations have the required manpower and resources to prepare such a brief. Secondly, even if they do, the collection of such briefs, tabulation of their contents and preparation of a summary is a very cumbersome task. Thirdly, the collection of numerous briefs alone would not be very useful in forming public policies.

What is, therefore, required is an illustrative presentation of the factual experiences of the South Asian Canadian community concerning race-relations, and a logical and objective presentation of their case. This requires a different methodological approach.

To begin with, I prepared a tentative outline of the report and discussed it with leaders of the participating organizations. Subsequently, I requested those organizations to collect factual information from their members and others. At the same time, I tried to reach all other South Asian Canadian organizations which were not associated initially with this project with the object of getting a full representation of the entire South Asian Canadian community.

To follow up my initial approach, I met with members of the various organizations in groups, and listened to their concerns, experiences, etc. I made notes of everything that was being said. To supplement this, I attended public meetings and conferences that took place during the last three months and listened to the debates and discussion. I also talked to participating delegates. However, in any society, not all members belong to an organized group. The South Asian Canadian community is no exception. There are a number of well-informed people in the South Asian Canadian community, who are not a part of any organized group. An omission of their concerns and experiences, would have been unfair. I, therefore, talked to a number of such individuals as well. They include people from the academic fields, government officials, businessmen, people in the media and in factories.

In addition, I talked to many victims of racial violence, people who felt that they were discriminated against in employment, and to school children. With minor variations, the concerns expressed and the experiences described by these individuals, were in agreement with the views expressed by community leaders.

In many cases, it was desired that the names of victims or complainants, should not be mentioned. The reasons behind such request varied from individual to individual. In some cases, legal proceedings were in progress and hence it was not desirable to give names. Others, did not want their friends

or relations to know about the details of the incidents. A few feared that they would be blacklisted and still others thought that their present careers would be in danger if they complained openly about discrimination in their organizations/institutions, etc. However, an attempt has been made to give the source of information wherever possible.

On the basis of these discussions and case-studies and of the information collected, I wrote the first draft. Care was taken to ensure that all view points were represented and objectivity was maintained. In view of the diversity of the groups, this was not an easy task. However, no attempt was made to compromise their views. A draft copy of this report was then circulated among the participating organizations for comments. These comments were incorporated in the final draft.

1.6. Definition of Terms used in the Report.

i. Multicultural and Multiracial Society

This means a society in which there is racial equality, a society where there is no discrimination against a person because of his race or colour. It means a society in which a person is judged by his individual worth and not in terms of a typecast image. It means that everyone has equality of opportunity. It does not mean uniformity of dress, nor does it mean that we should have a uniform Atlantic Culture.

What we emphatically do not mean by multiculturalism is the creation of parallel societies within our country.

Racism

This term is concerned with the feelings of resentment at the presence in any sphere of life of people of different racial background, and with the resulting acts of discrimination and violence against them.

Unfortunately, the racial issue is befogged with myths and misconceptions. In discussions and writing, terms such as racial prejudice and discrimination are loosely used as though they were interchangeable. Actually, each of these terms has different meanings and also different policy implications. It is therefore important that we clearly define our terms for the purpose of both analysis and policy formulation.

Racial prejudice refers to a frame of mind in which views are held that are critical of all persons belonging to a "racial" group. These feelings usually arise out of some stereotype of the group that the person with such prejudice has in mind.

Racial discrimination is a deliberate act of denying someone certain facilities open to any member of the public purely on the basis of the person's "race"

Racial violence is violence that is directed against members of a "racial" group merely because they are members of that group.

Law can deal with racial discrimination and with racial violence. It is only social education that can deal with racial prejudice which is their source.

South Asian

The term South Asian used in this report refers to people who were born or whose ancestors were born in the Indian sub-continent. They include people from India, Pakistan, Shri-Lanka, East Africa, Guyana, etc. They have in common a distinctively different physical appearance and ethnic background.

1. 7. South Asians in Canada:

There are about 200,000 South Asians living in Canada. Out of this number about 80,000 live in Metro Toronto. These people have immigrated to Canada from different continents bringing with them slightly different brands of South Asian culture. For example, people coming from Guyana are of Indian origin but their mode of behaviour is more anglicized than that of people coming directly from Asia. Similarly Indians coming from Europe, U.S. and to some extent from East Africa, reflect greater influence of western civilization but are not anglicized to the extent that the Guyanese are. These local variations, produces different behavioural patterns within the South Asian community.

It is also important to mention here that the South Asian community in general consists of a high proportion of professionals as well as tradesmen.

South Asians are widely spread throughout Metro Toronto. However, there may be small pockets in Metro Toronto where one may find a very few numbers of South Asians living in close proximity.

However, such pockets are too few to justify the statement that there is a concentration of South Asians in particular geographic locations within the metropolitan area.

1.8. Outline:

The report is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the concerns and experiences of the South Asian community in the field of racial violence, in relation to the educational problems of their children and in connection with discrimination in employment. The second part deals with the causes of racial problems and suggests remedial measures.

Part I is divided into three chapters II, III and IV.

In Chapter II we have discussed racial violence. This chapter is designed to analyse the complex nature and the numerous forms of violence and its locational patterns. We have given representative examples of each type of racial violence. A more detailed list of various racial attacks is given in the appendix.

In Chapter III, we have discussed the problems which South Asian children face in the educational sphere. In this chapter, greater emphasis has been laid on secondary education, because the problems are more widespread in this area than in the area of post secondary education. The analysis presented here results from discussion, I have had with South Asian teachers, children and community leaders.

Chapter IV deals with discrimination in employment. Because of the complex and subtle manner in which discrimination is practiced, we found this aspect of our study difficult to handle statistically. We therefore, decided to adopt analytical tools, and to present descriptive evidence. Care has been taken to focus our analysis on the various stages of employment and also on employment in different sectors.

Part II is divided into three chapters--V, VI, VII.

In Chapter V, we have discussed the causes of racial tension. Here we have discussed the general causes of such tension as well as the specific causes of tension in the areas examined in Part I.

Chapter VI deals with policy alternatives. Again we have suggested various policies of a general nature as well as those specific to the problem areas discussed earlier.

In Chapter VII, we have suggested policy mechanisms through which the suggested social changes may be brought about.

In the final chapter, we have presented a brief summary and conclusion.

PART I

RACIAL VIOLENCE

2.1. Introduction

Racial violence against South Asian Canadians represents a new and virulent form of behaviour in the city of Toronto and its environs. Racial violence is carried out in various forms - such as racial slurs, hate propaganda, (jokes, hate literature, telephone messages, graffiti on walls etc.), abusive remarks in public, threats through letters and telephones, physical attacks on people and properties, etc.

The aim of this chapter is to undertake a detailed examination of racial violence directed against this community. Since the most frequent form of racial violence a South Asian Canadian comes across is being called a "Paki," it is desirable that we begin with a brief discussion of the origin of the word, "Paki." This is followed by an examination of some factual studies to ascertain the pattern of violence. In some cases, the names of the victims have not been mentioned because of legal and other reasons.

2.2. Paki

The word Paki is a short form of the word Pakistani: i.e. people from Pakistan. However, the real meaning of the word Paki is pure - by implication, it symbolizes a high moral standard. Unfortunately, because of sheer ignorance, it has been used in a derogatory form against all people of the Indian sub-continent. Interestingly, it is also used against Canadian/British/East-African/Guyanese citizens of Indian origin.

The term Paki was first used in London (England) in mid 1966.

In East London, a gang of youths called Skin-heads(1) was involved in Criminal activities. At night, after the public houses (i.e. Bars) were closed, these youths used to attack and rob people in side streets. A few people from former East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) lived in East London. Most of them worked in restaurants. On their way home late in the evening, they were frequently attacked by skin-heads. These attacks on Pakistani (East Pakistani) nationals were termed as "Paki-bashing." The attacks were condemned by every one: the police took immediate action and as a result, although a few minor incidents continues "Paki-bashing" did not last long. Never the less, the word "Paki" lingered on.

This term was first used in Ontario by The Toronto Star in early 1975 in a newspaper article. Since then it has gained widespread usage as a derogatory term for South Asians.

2.3. Pattern of physical violence

In this section we have presented some cases based on information given orally or in writing or on reports in the press. It must be pointed out that it is not the object of this exercise to document all cases of racial violence, but to understand the nature of this violence. Hence, the cases presented here are representative. Additional cases are given in the appendix. The source of the information on which the case is based is given at the end of each case. We have recorded only those cases which took place after the word "Paki" was introduced in Canada i.e. from 1975 to the present date. The cases are grouped into location categories such as public transport, public places, private houses, etc. To get a

(1) Teenager who shaved their heads were called skin-heads. /....3

wider perspective on the nature of racial violence, we have adopted a diversified approach for collecting information. We have used published information, information given by South Asian Canadian leaders and information directly supplied by victims.

A. TTC Subways

On April 21, 1977 Mr. A was on his way to attend a meeting called by Mr. Walter Pitman to discuss racial violence. While he was waiting for the south bound train at Bloor, two white youths walked toward him and started making "Paki" jokes. One of them attempted to remove his turban. He made an unsuccessful attempt to request those youths to leave him alone. Instead they hit him. Mr. A then also hit them back. During that fight Mr. A. sustained a minor injury. As they saw this the youths ran away. Mr. A did not report that incident to the police. (1)

In January 1976, Shamshdin Kanji, a 49 year old Tanzanian immigrant of South Asian origin was going home after a prayer meeting. He was pushed off the platform onto the track by two young men while a third shouted "push the Paki." Mr. Kanji suffered two broken legs. Two Toronto men, Steven Ingram and Thomas Grimsdale were convicted. (2)

On New Year's Eve i.e. on December 31, 1976 Mr. James Carson, a 61 year old investigator with the Ontario Ombudsman's office suffered a broken nose and leg injuries when he went to help two Pakistani men being assaulted on a Yonge Street subway train. (3)

(1) Sikh Youth Association

(2) Globe and Mail

(3) Toronto Star

On January 7, 1977 Indal (Sammy) Narine, a Guyanese immigrant was knocked to the ground by three white men in the Victoria Park subway station and kicked in the back and legs while at least two other transit riders watched from a distance. The attack occurred as Mr. Narine approached the subway platform to wait for a train. Three men waiting on the platform called out to him "Hey Paki" and attacked him. (1)

B On TTC buses

Mr. Lawrence Simoes, 27 was returning home on a southbound Brimley road bus on 22nd June 1977 when a youth started taunting him with racial slurs.

Simoes, who is from India said he had seen the youth on the bus before but this time he was with another youth and a girl.

"He kept saying, 'Hey Paki, you need a transfer to get off the bus' Simoes said, 'Finally I told him to shut up, but he kept on, so I went to ask the driver to make him stop or get off.'"

As he walked past, the youth kicked him, Simoes said, so he kicked him back on the leg. The youth stood up and punched him, then both youths jumped on him and punched him. The two then immediately got off the bus, Simoes said. The driver took the bus to the nearby Scarborough Town Centre mall and called the police. The suspects were arrested about an hour later on another bus.

These two youths, Jeffrey Gordon Curtin, and Richard Thomas

Baoine, 17, were charged with assault causing bodily harm.(1)

Five youths harrassed a South Asian Canadian youth in the bus. The South Asian Canadian tried to seek help from the bus driver. The driver refused to help and made this comment: "It is the fault of the Liberal Government to let all these bloody immigrants in. If you do not like it here, why do you not go back?"(2)

C. Private cars

On Saturday afternoon on April 11, 1977 Mr. A. was driving on Bathurst leading towards Dupont St. He was accompanied by his wife and 11 month old baby. He stopped at a red traffic light at Bathurst & Dupont. A man got out from another car, came near Mr. A, and punched him on his face and nose. Mr. A started bleeding heavily. His wife was shattered. Meanwhile his white attacker drove away rapidly. However, there were many people standing on the side walk who watched that incident. Some of them took the car number. Also, other motorists came forward to assist Mr. A and also showed their willingness to be witnesses to the scene. Mr. A immediately telephoned the police. Finally the police arrived on the scene 1½ hours after the incident took place. Meanwhile the other motorists went away. Police took a statement from Mr. A and took him to the nearby hospital as he was bleeding. After the preliminary examination he was sent home.

Over the weekend his nose continued bleeding. He was there-

(1) Toronto Star, June 4, 1977

(2) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

by some persons on Gerrard and Pape Ave. By chance the police came by when Mr. C. Singh was being physically attacked by these racists. The police failed to act properly and Mr. C. Singh received injuries on his face. Instead of giving him first aid in the nearest hospital, the police took him to the police station and subjected him to one hour of hostile interrogation. He was taken to the hospital only after he complained of his feeling dizzy. He received stitches on his forehead." (1)

"Mr. Y was on his way to the bank in the afternoon. When he was stopped by two youths and attacked. Mr. Y sustained injuries. He reported the matter to the police. Meanwhile, the youths also made a counter complaint against Mr. Y accusing him of attacking them. As a result Mr. Y's lawyer advised him not to proceed further with his lawsuit against those youths." (2)

"Mr. A was going to the mosques (Place of worship for Muslims) near Bloor and Dundas West. A car stopped near him. There were 3 people in the car. One of them said: "Excuse me," and called Mr. A. Mr. A walked towards the car. As he came nearer one of the men slapped him on his face saying "you Paki" and drove away before Mr. A could write down the number of the car." (3)

E. Pubs

Mr. Singh and his friends, wearing turbans, went to the West end of Toronto recently. A group of white Canadian aged between 20 to 35 was sitting next to their table. After about 45

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- (1) The Shromani Sikh Society
 - (2) Mr. D. Sonza
 - (3) Pakistani Canadian Association

fore, referred to Finchhurst hospital. At the hospital, according to Mr. a, it was discovered that he had a fracture in the nose.

After several telephone calls, police told him that his attacker had been traced. Nothing further was heard from the police of 14-Division. The case appears to be in limbo.(1)

In the Fairview Mall area, some youths in a car followed a South Asian Canadian family driving peacefully. The youths started shouting racial slurs. Then at the traffic light two youths got out of the car and sat on the car driven by the South Asian Canadian family and shouted "Paki go home". Later a complaint was made to the police giving the licence plate number. However, the police declined to take any action.(2)

"Mr. B from Guyana was driving his car ahead of a TTC bus. A few yards from the bus stop, Mr. B's car stalled. The bus driver walked to Mr. B's car, abused him, broke the side rear view mirror of his car and challenged Mr. B to fight. He also told him that he would wrap the bus around his neck. This matter was reported to the TTC, the Police and the Human Rights Commission. Subsequently, the TTC denied the whole incident."(3)

D. Walking on the street

Mr. C. Singh was returning home with his family from the Sikh Temple on 20th February 1977. He was abused and insulted

- (1) Told personally by the victim
- (2) India Canada Association
- (3) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

minutes Mr. Singh went to the washroom. He was followed by two members of the white Canadian group. In the washroom, they started shouting: "Hey Paki - what are you doing here?" One of them pulled his turban. Meanwhile, other members of the group also came to the washroom and started beating him. After a few minutes Mr. Singh's friend went to the washroom to find out why his friend had not returned. When he saw the fighting he came out. He was seen by the attackers. Assuming that Mr. Singh friend might call his friends or the police, the group stopped beating Mr. Singh, who ran towards his car which was parked outside. A police officer was standing there. Mr. Singh narrated the incident to the police officer who went into the pub. He talked to the group of white Canadians who by then had resumed drinking. No action was taken by the police. (1)

Mr. D, a South Asian Canadian went to Clover Leaf Taverns, Long Branch with two of his friends. There were more than 300 people at the Tavern. At about 11p.m. four Canadian youths came and sat near them and started teasing them shouting racial slurs - "Paki bastard go back." This went on up to 1a.m. At that point some more people in the Tavern (including female members) joined those youths. All of them raised their glasses and started shouting "Paki, go home." A large proportion of the people in the Tavern joined in this.

Those three South Asian Canadians were badly shaken by the public support those youths had and they hurriedly left the Tavern. (2)

(1) Sikh Youth Association

(2) Told by the victim

f In Restaurants

Mr. George McLeod, an off-duty Immigration Officer, aged 40, entered the Rajput Restaurant on Bloor St. W. at 11:30p.m. on Sunday May 8, 1977. Totally drunk, he levelled racial taunts at the diners and assaulted a customer Mr. Ram Uppal, a resident of Canada for more than 14 years. He also demanded to see Mr. Uppal passport and then hit him on the arm. Subsequently, Mr, McLeod resigned from his job.(1)

In early January this year, Mr. Hassan Ali and two of his friends went to a restaurant near King and Dufferin at about 8p.m. When they had finished eating, six White Canadians (Four boys and two girls all above 18) walked into the restaurant. As they passed by Ali and his friend they said: "Paki" Further arguments developed which resulted in a fight. The restaurant waiter called the police. The Police arrived immediately and asked all the parties to leave the restaurant. Outside the restaurant one of Mr. Ali's friends tried to explain to the police about the fight with the intention of lodging a complaint. According to Mr. Ali, the police appeared indifferent. Finally they left the place.(2)

G. Playground

In Feb. 1976, Nassir Basith, a 12 year old boy was pushed into the snow and beaten by 3 teenagers near his North York home. Like many before him Basith was called "a dirty Paki". It did not seem to matter to his attackers that he was Canadian born.(3)

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- (1) Owner of Rajput Restaurant
 - (2) Told by the victim
 - (3) Globe and Mail

(H) Shopping Plazas

In July, 1977, Mr. A. and his friend B. went to a shopping plaza in Malton. As they approached the shopping plaza, a group of white Canadian youths started shouting "Paki". An argument developed. One of the youths hit Mr. B. with an iron bar. Meanwhile, Mr. A. approached passers-by and requested them to help without success. He then telephoned the police. When the police arrived, the youths were still there. The police talked to the South Asians as well as the white youths. No further action was taken.⁽¹⁾

A South Asian visitor to Canada was walking in the Jane/Finch Plaza. Four youths knocked down his turban and continued kicking at it. He complained to the police but the police said they could not do anything. The visitor was badly shaken.⁽²⁾

(I) Places of Worship

On 30th of September, 1976, Durga Puja (a week long religious festival dedicated to the victory of virtue over evil) was held at the Sam Marco Veneto Club Hall on Weston Road, Toronto.

At about 7:30 p.m. that evening while over 40 devotees wmade preparations for worship, a group of young people outside the hall began obstructing entry to the building. They shouted racial slurs at worshippers going inside. Soon it escalated into

(1) Sikh Youth Association

(2) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

a hail of stones, eggs, tomatoes, and mudballs. The police arrived 20 minutes later and witnesses pointed out the apparent ring leader who was 19 years old. But when police took him into a cruiser for questioning, he continued waving his fists and shouting at the South Asians across the street. "You Paki son-of-a bitch", he yelled, "Why don't you bastards go back where you came from?"

The police told the organizers that they could not supply protection as they had more important work to do.

About an hour later, after the police had left the scene, a larger crowd of older youths began assembling across the street from the hall. Some of them carried baseball bats or sticks and attacked the people outside the hall. One of the South Asians, Mr. Chatterjee, was hit with an axe and fell to the ground unconscious.

A group of South Asians formed a circle to protect Mr. Chatterjee. They, too, were beaten with sticks. More worshippers fell to the ground. Mr. Chatterjee was taken to the York-Finch General Hospital where a six inch gash, as deep as the bone, was closed with 15 stitches. On October 3rd, 1976, Dr. Dutta, one of the organizers, telephoned the police station and demanded to know why, after days of violence and harrassment, no charges had been laid. "What do you expect me to do?" said the policemen who took the call. "I am not a Swami."⁽¹⁾

1) Prabasi

In July, 1977, the words, Paki go home in black paint were sprayed on the Hindu Temple run by the Hindu Prathana Samaj. Beer bottles had been broken at the entrance. Once last winter a big tire was thrown while we were praying...another time, our shoes (left outside the Temple's main room) were thrown out into the snow during a service." Said the spokesman for the Temple. (1)

In July, 1976, the Bharat Bhavan Hindu Temple on Indian Road, was vandalized (slogan often used by the Western Guard, Toronto's white supremacist version of the American Nazi Party) and "Pakis ruin God were spray painted on the outside walls. The Windowglasses of this temple are constantly smashed.(2)

(J) At Place of Work:

We reproduce below a newspaper report from the Globe and Mail June 23, 1976.

"Thunder Bay: A municipal employee has been charged with assault causing bodily harm and two police constables face charges under the Ontario Police Act because an East Indian immigrant was severely beaten last month in the washroom of the Red Oak Inn.

The beating occurred shortly after 1 a.m. on May 7, the first day of Police Week, an annual event held to honour Thunder Bay police and acquaint the public with their work.

(1) Hindu Prathana Samaj
(2) Bharat Bhavan Hindu Temple

Ranjit Singh, 23, assistant manager of the Red Oak Inn, the new CP Hotel in Thunder Bay, spent two days in hospital after the attack. Five of his teeth were broken and he suffered a hemorrhaged left eye and cuts and bruises on his back and stomach.

Police Chief Onni Harty said in an interview that the municipal employee has been remanded to June 28 on the assault charge. He said two men from his department, one a first-class constable and the other a third-class constable, were to face Police Act charges during a hearing on August 25, 26 and 27.

Deputy Chief Thomas Keep, who is to conduct the hearing, said both men have been charged with neglect of duty and one has also been charged with conduct unbecoming a police officer.

Both policemen are still assigned to patrol duty, Deputy Chief Keep said. He added that the municipal employee is still working for the city. All three men were off duty when the incident occurred.

Deputy Chief Keep said Police Commission regulations specify an "in-camera hearing" for policemen charged with violations of the Police Act.

Neither the chief nor his deputy would name the two constables.

Mr. Singh said in an interview that he was in the bar on May 7 when a man beckoned him over and asked him to have a chat. Mr. Singh said he knew the man, because a week earlier, he had asked him to leave the bar at 1:45 a.m. well past the legal closing hour.

The assistant manager said he walked toward the washroom at one side of the bar, and the man asked him to step inside the washroom "so we could have a leak, and have a chat."

The man started punching him as soon as they got inside the washroom telling him he didn't want to see him in the bar. Another man walked in, and "I thought, 'Oh boy, I'm going to be saved.'"

As the man watched, Mr. Singh said, he was pushed to the floor and kicked repeatedly, in the back and stomach. Finally, Mr. Singh said, he managed to get out of the washroom. Other hotel employees called an ambulance. He said he found out later from other hotel employees that a third man was blocking the door outside.

Charges were laid about two days after Mr. Singh was assaulted. Mr. Singh said he did not press charges, "the city is handling it all."

On the day the charges were laid, Mr. Singh's father, Shamsher Singh, flew to Thunder Bay to see his son. Mr. Singh is counsellor in the Indian High Commission to Canada in Ottawa. Mr. Singh said his father did not intervene in the case. "It was just a father coming to see his son".

Deputy Chief Keep said the police department did not consider suspending the two constables after they were charged. In this country we presume that a man is innocent until proven guilty."

If the men are found guilty, the penalties could range from dismissal "right down to loss of time off." (1)

(K) Places of Business

"Mr. Pritam Singh Sian closed his shop at 10:30 p.m. and went to his garage to take his car. He requested two men who were standing in his drive way to move out. His request was of no avail, but he got racial slurs in return. Soon four other white men came out of a nearby house. One man punched Mr. Sian's face. Mr. Sian tried to defend himself. Soon he found all the six men punching him, one after the other. He was badly injured and had to go to the hospital. The police were called but were not of much help. They refused to arrest the attackers, and advised Mr. Sian to go to the Justice of the Peace and lay charges." (2)

Mr. Sian told the Canadian Council for Racial Harmony that the police said to him, "if you do not like it here, you can go back to your country." (3)

Mr. K. Kumar bought a shop worth \$40,000.00 on Queen St. E. near Leslie St. in February, 1976. He invested another

(1) Globe and Mail, June 23, 1976

(2) Sri Guru Singh Sabha

(3) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

10,000.00 to buy some appliances. However, he received a lot of harrassment at the hands of people from the nearby area including verbal abuse and physical assualts. Almost daily these people would come and damage his property. He called the 5th division police frequently but they would not come. Once the police did come and found the culprits still inside the shop fully drunk and abusing the owner. However, the police let them go with the excuse that they were drunk and could not be blamed for the damage. Mr. Kumar then reported this to the Human Rights Commission but they told him that it was a matter to be looked after only by the police. Mr. Kumar out of frustration sold all his damaged machines at a loss within a year. He is still trying to sell his building and he had to pay mortgage for the empty shop. According to the source, he has lost all hope and faith in the government or private institutions, none of which have helped him in time. (1)

In June, 1977, two white youths entered the South Asian variety shop located on Gerrard Street West, and started an argument with one of the customers, using racial slurs. The owner of the shop tried to calm the situation down. However, as a result of his intervention, the owner became the target of physical attack by those youths. After the attack, the youths left the shop. The owner received minor injuries and was treated in a hospital. The incident was reported to the police. No further action appears to have been taken by the police. (2)

(1) The Shromani Sikh Society

(2) Sikh Youth Association

(L) At Home

Mr. A. rented his house to white Canadians. They did not pay the rent for some months. One day Mr. A. had an argument with one of the tenants about the rent. The tenant struck him with a piece of wood. Mr. A. called the police. The police talked to the tenant but no charges were laid against him.

The same evening, Mr. A. met some of his tenants' friends. They threatened him saying that they would send him to hospital.

Frightened, Mr. A. called the police and expressed his concern. The police visited the tenants' friends and went back to Mr. A. and assured him that everything was taken care of and that there would be no trouble.

Between 12:15 a.m. and 1:00 a.m., 8 people --the tenants and their friends-- went to Mr. A.'s apartment with iron bars and broke into his apartment. When Mrs. A. saw these people, she tried to reach the telephone. Unfortunately, she was grabbed by the female tenant and her woman friend and was beaten up by them.

Meanwhile, the men struck Mr. A. with the iron bar in his eyes. He lost his eyesight and fell unconscious. He needed plastic surgery below his abdomen and on the spine.

Finally, the police came but by then the attackers had gone.

Mr. A. gave the names of 7 attackers but police charged only two of them. According to the association that reported this case, the police were reluctant to lay the charges on the other five attackers. The police response according to the association was "We can't lay charges on everybody on the street".⁽¹⁾

Mr. Bakhsish Singh's house at MacGregor Avenue has seen many ugly incidents. The trouble was started in June 1975 by some whites from their neighbourhood. Eggs and stones were thrown at their house many times. The windows were broken. The police of number 11 division would not listen to the complaint of Mr. Bakhsish Singh but tried to fight with him rather than the attackers.

This went on until August, 1976. These whites tried to set fire to the house four times. Once they succeeded and the fire brigade was called. But still the police would not do anything.

Mr. Bakhsish Singh wrote to the Attorney General, Human Rights Commission, Premier of Ontario, Mayor David Crombie, but did not get anywhere.

Mr. Edward Zimba, N.D.P. member was approached and he put pressure on the police. The police made a little more effort but no charge was laid against the whites concerned.⁽²⁾

(1) South Asians for Equality
(2) Sri Guru Singh Sabha

(M) In Apartments

Mr. S. Singh Gill, father of two kids, was attacked by his neighbours living one floor above him in an apartment building. His door was broken, his clothes torn and he received injuries at the hands of the attackers. He called the police from Division 21 in Etobicoke. The police did come and listened to MR. Gill and the superintendent. The latter told the police that Mr. Gill was innocent and his attackers had given him a hard time on previous occasions too. The police, then, went to the accused and at their insistance charge Mr. Gill with indecent nudity. The false charge could never be proved in the court but Mr. Gill's assailants were let loose by the police to have a free hand in future.⁽¹⁾

(N) In apartment Laundry

A South Asian woman sent her daughter to the laundry room in her apartment building in Scarborough. There were two white girls in the laundry room. These girls attacked the South Asian girl. The girl reported this to her mother. The mother went to the laundry room and asked the two white girls the reason for the attack. They told her that they attacked her because the girl was a "Paki". The girls asked the mother that, "If you are angry with us, why not try to beat us?" The mother responded by saying that "I do not want to do that. The difference between you and me is that we South Asians are peace loving people!" After that the mother left the laundry room.⁽²⁾

(O) In Front of Apartment Building

In crescent town, A South Asian came out of her apartment building. When some youths saw her, they started shouting "Paki". When she questioned them about this, she was badly beaten and had to be hospitalized. A complaint was lodged with the Police."⁽³⁾

(1) The Shromani Sikh Society

(2) Mr. Ahmed Quareshi, a social Worker

(3) Prabhasi

(P) Back Garden

Mr. A. was collecting fallen leaves in the back garden of his house, located in the Eglinton and Avenue Road area. Two young men and a girl aged between 18 to 20, from the neighbouring house walked by and suggested that Mr. A. burn those leaves. Accordingly Mr. A. burnt the leaves. The burning produced smoke. The same youths came out from their house and asked Mr. A. to put out the fire. This resulted in arguments between the youths and Mr. A. The youths then attacked Mr. A. Meanwhile, Mrs. A. telephoned the police. The police charged the youths. (1)

(Q) In the Parking Lot

In an apartment building in Crescent Town, a medical doctor, a university professor and their guests from the United States took the elevator to the parking lot. As they were approaching the car, 4 youths came and physically assaulted them and made them say these words: "We are Pakis, we made a mistake in coming here and we will go back." The matter was reported to the police. An arrest was made. (2)

(R) Neighbours

When the neighbour's son bullied the Singh Boys Gurucharan Singh, complained to the boy's father, who responded with a volley of verbal abuse and then leaped into the Singhs' backyard and smashed their windows. Gurucharan fought the man, who later required several stitches in his head. The case was settled out of court and charges were dropped. (3)

(1) Prabhasi

(2) Pakistani Canadian Association

(3) Sri Guru Singh Sabha

(S) Prisons

Mr. X was serving a four month sentence in Don Jail, Toronto. In February, 1977, the white inmates started beating him at half hour intervals from 9:00 a.m. onwards till he went back to his own cell. A group of six would start saying Paki jokes. Then the others would push Mr. X from one to another, and then they would all join in beating him.

When his nose was broken, he approached the prison guards on duty. They took no notice of his complaint. Even one of the guards said, "Give a good beating to the Paki."

The following month, his ankle was broken by the inmates and the beating sessions were carried out as usual. At one stage, an inmate imported a nail into the prison from outside. The nail was then fixed to a tooth brush and with that the said inmate made a hole in Mr. X hand. Mr. X went to the doctor but he was told that it was a minor injury. He reported the matter to the prison authorities, but no action was taken. He informed his lawyer, However by that time he had served his sentence.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Y. was serving a year's sentence for petty Theft in Don Jail. There were two inmates near his cell who had been involved in racial fights, previous to being jailed. They hated South Asians. As soon as Mr. Y. used to come out from his cell into the open area, those two would pull his hair and beat him every two to three hours. After a while, a few more inmates joined them in these beating sessions.

The beating was carried out daily. At one stage, his neck swelled and he sustained injuries on his leg and nose. He reported the matter to the guards on duty. One of the guards told the

(1) Sikh Youth Association

inmates to stop beating him. However, as soon as that guard went off duty, the beating continued. He reported the matter to the correctional officer but no action was taken. He also reported the matter to the doctor and requested for a transfer. However, again no action was taken. (1)

(T) Damage to Property

Acts of damage to property according to the South Asian community leaders, have become a common occurrence. Cars have been repeatedly vandalized, paint work scratched with nails, chrome fittings stolen, tires slashed and racist slogans (Get out Paki) scrawled all over the sides.

Similarly, house windows are continuously broken. In this connection, the plight of a senior official of the Ontario government illustrates the harassment innocent people are subjected to and the frustration they go through. I reproduce below a copy of the letter he wrote to the Attorney General, which speaks for itself.

May 9, 1977

Mr. R. Roy McMurtry, Q.C.
Attorney General of Ontario

Dear Mr. McMurtry:

I am employed by the Ontario Government, Ministry of Industry and Tourism as the Director of the Operational Review Branch. I have earned this position through hard work and consider myself lucky to be a Canadian.

1) Sikh Youth Association

My purpose for writing this letter to you is to seek help in solving a very serious problem which is making life for my family and myself a nightmare. The problem is that my family and I are simply unable to step out of our house without being abused, insulted and having racial slurs shouted at us by young kids belonging to two families across the street.

In the last two years my property has been damaged, windows of my house have been broken with slingshots fired from the upstairs windows of the house across the street. All my efforts to solve this problem have been to no avail. I have called the police several times in the past two years, but this has only made the problem worse. The police offer to me that "This is a free country with freedom of speech, and anyone can say anything to anyone". They could not, according to them, charge the kids with damage to private property unless I had an independent witness. Otherwise it is my word against theirs. At the same time, since these kids are minors, I cannot say anything to them or touch them; not even to hold them if I catch them red-handed until the police arrive.

You see this practice by the police only makes things worse. It encourages the kids to be bolder. They see that despite the fact that the police are called, I am ineffective in stopping them from abusing my family and me.

I have tried to talk to the parents without any success. In one case we have learned that the father has an alcohol problem

and has separated from his wife and family. The mother works during the day and told my wife and I that she is unable to control her children as they will not listen to her. In the second case, the mother is a widow. She is a chiropractor by profession and appears to be too busy to know what her daughter is doing. One evening, when I was away on Government business, my wife heard someone in our garage. It was natural for her to become frightened and call the police. However, the kids had run away damaging the garage door before the police officers arrived. The police noticed some kids peeking through the living room windows of the chiropractor's house across the street. They went over to talk to the people in the house. The next day, I received a visit from the woman, screaming and shouting at me for calling the police. She complained that it had spoiled her daughter's party. She protested that we should have called her since it was only 'kid's stuff'.

Since the spring weather has arrived, we have had another flare of this problem. Our visitors are greeted with shouts of 'Paki; and what have you by these kids right in the presence of their parents. Glen, a deformed boy who has mental and speech problems, in his late teens, in one of the nicest and most gentle boys in our neighbourhood. He is always trying to be friendly and helpful to the people of the neighbourhood. Now that poor boy is being told to go and knock on our door and to shout slurs.

It is becoming so bad that we have stopped using our front door, but the problem has now followed us to the back door. For

example, on Thursday, May 5, 1977, when we were coming home from our son's cub-scout meeting at 8:30 p.m. similar insults were shouted at us from the other side of the street. Later in the evening I went out to park the car inside the garage, it was repeated again from the front porch of the chiroprators house. At that time I decided to have a word with the woman. Seeing me approach, the kids ran inside the house and locked the door. Despite ringing the doorbell several times and knocking on the door, the woman did not open the door. Hearing the bang of the door at the back of the house, and thinking that she might be at the back, I went to the back of the house and heard the door close with a bang. When I got to the back of the house, the woman came out with a man who was naked from the waist upwards. The woman complained indicating towards the broken glass of the door. I tried to talk to her and meanwhile she was joined by the mother of the other kids. It was no use talking to them. I left in frustration and about 2 1/4 hours later (about 11:30 p.m.) while we were in bed, we received a visit from two police officers. They threatened to lay charges for damaging private property. I explained the whole problem to the police officers in detail and protested their inaction and ineffectiveness despite my contact with them regarding damage to my property. They left stating that if the woman wanted to lay charges, they would be in touch with me.

My purpose in writing all these details which you may find boring, Mr. McMurtry, is to seek advice and help from you since you are our number one law officer. You are the champion of individual rights. You must protect my right to live in dignity as a good hard-working Canadian citizen.

I am frustrated and at a loss not knowing what to do to eliminate this stupid problem. I hope that you, sir, will have a solution for me."⁽¹⁾

T.Y.Z.

2.4. What does the pattern of racial attack show?

In the previous section we have presented case studies in order to enable us to understand the pattern of violence. As stated earlier these case studies are not fairy tales but substantiated racial incidents and the sources quoted there are willing to provide further information.

Thus, from the case studies presented so far, it is quite clear that racial attacks are not concentrated in one location, but are spread all over. They also touch every aspect of a South Asian's life. He feels uneasy or worried travelling in public transport late in the night. He is not secure in his own car. He is constantly vulnerable to racial attacks while walking on the street. He is intimidated at shopping plazas and pushed out from restaurants and taverns. He is not safe to stroll in the park or to take his family to the lakeside. He is attacked at educational institutions, at the place of his business, at the place where he works; even at the place where he lives. He is assaulted in his apartment, in his parking lot, in his house, in his garage and in his back garden. Ironically, his limbs are not safe even in state custody. His car is damaged and house windows broken.

(1) Subsequent development in this matter are reported in a letter to the author of this report. Please see appendix.

It was not our objective to analyse the trend of these attacks but the pattern. For the purpose of public policy it is not the number but the nature of the attacks that is important.

When one looks at the people who carry out the racial attacks, one gets a similarly diversified picture. They are carried out by teenagers, youths between 16 to 20, grown up people, even by people in authority such as the police and immigration officers. Equally, they are carried out against men, women and children. They transcend socio-economic concerns and find their unifying thrust in race.

Moreover, racial attacks are carried out with people living in apartment buildings and by people living in private homes.

Racial attacks are not confined to any particular time. Instead they are carried out in the morning, afternoon, evening and at night.

In a nutshell, an average South Asian feels that although he pays taxes and contributes to the economy like any other Canadian, he is not protected by the state. He feels his freedom of movement is eroded. It is not that he is attacked everytime he goes out, but whenever he goes out, he has at the back of his mind the fear that he is likely to be attacked or abused.

Moreover, what has emerged very strongly from our investigation is the inaction on the part of the police in protecting South Asians. This has been demonstrated in the case histories presented here as well as during discussions with the community.

There is a strong body of opinion in the South Asian community which feels that the police in most cases are siding with the attackers. According to them, "The police are protecting the culprits and penalizing the victims."

We have not verified these allegations with the police authorities. Nevertheless, the fact that such a large number of responsible citizens should make complaints or feel suspicious about police behaviour is a good barometer of the failure of the police to inspire confidence within the South Asian community. We therefore should look at the relationship between the police and the South Asian community.

2.5. The Police and the South Asian Community

Apart from racial incidents, the relationship between South Asians and the police is cordial. The police rarely have trouble with South Asian youths. Perhaps this is because of the fact that the behaviour of South Asian youths tends to be less overtly physical and thus less threatening. Moreover, Asian youths do not ordinarily congregate in the streets as frequently as do the black youths.⁽¹⁾

If this is the case, then, one would like to pose the question as to why the relationship between the police and the South Asian community has deteriorated.

(1) Wilson Head "Perceptions of Police Attitudes and Practices toward Blacks and other Visible Minorities in Metropolitan Toronto." Paper presented at the seminar on Law Enforcement and Race Relations, November, 1976.

An answer to this may be found in the racial view of policemen. Given the current increase in racial tension and physical attacks upon South Asians, it is not surprising that the police reflect a certain degree of prejudice in their treatment of South Asians. The police are a part of the Canadian society in which increasing evidence of overt racism is present everywhere. It would be surprising indeed if they entirely escaped the influence of this virus. Evidence of this can be found in the following comments made by some police officers during a discussion with community leaders.

"I was in the British Navy; In 1958, I went to the Far East. I returned to England after serving 6 years overseas. On my return, I found a great change in England. There were many coloured people in England. I therefore decided to move to Canada. I came here and joined the police force. Now I find a similar situation in Canada. There are too many coloured people in Canada."

A second police officer said "My father came here from Europe. He worked hard to build this country. Now the East Indian comes here and the next day goes to welfare. I do not want my father's money to go to feed East Indians."

Fortunately, the other police officers who were present there, immediately replied to his statement saying "To our knowledge, East Indians do not go on welfare. Their wives work or they take any job."

However, the effect of this positive statement did not last long. The third policeman said, "But East Indians are taking away jobs from Canadians."

Thus, within a few minutes one got two contradictory and prejudicial statements from the police. On the one hand, it was said that South Asians go on welfare and on the other that they take jobs from Canadians. Obviously, if South Asians are on welfare, then they can't take away jobs from Canadians and vice-versa.

In the case of Mr. Pritam Singh Sian (Case referred to in the previous section) the police told him "we can't do anything. "IF YOU DO NOT LIKE IT HERE YOU CAN GO BACK TO YOUR OWN COUNTRY." (1)

This discussion indicates the existance of racial prejudice among the police force. This to some extent, may influence, explicitly or implicitly, the performance of their public duties.

The major complaint against the police by the South Asian Canadian community is regarding the police response to their complaints. It was constantly stated that when a South Asian complains to the police about racial attacks, the police come hours after the incident has taken place and that too, after repeated telephone calls. But if the complaint is made by a white Canadian against a South Asian, the police would be there at the South Asian's house within a few minutes.

(1) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

The police reply to the complaints regarding the delay is that the police force has a shortage of manpower and has therefore identified some priority areas for their actions. It may be that the complaint lodged by the South Asian may not fall within those priority areas. Under these circumstances, the police will respond only when there are no other emergency calls. This may account for the delay.

This argument appears to be logical and genuine. Nevertheless, the following incident appears to be quite contrary to the above argument.

"Two policemen who were called by an irate neighbour to do something about the noise coming from the apartment directly above found the place occupied by over a dozen professors, their wives and other guests. Since there was hardly any sign of excessive sound (guests had just finished their dinner) the host asked the policemen to leave. The two policemen, feeling insulted, went back to their cruiser and ran a check against the host's name in the computer and found a \$12.00 parking fine outstanding for over three years against him. They came back and placed the host under arrest despite several offers from the guests to pay the amount either on the spot or in the police station. The host, who is black and teaches at the

university was handcuffed and manhandled while being escorted to the cruiser. "Wait until you get deported," said the constable without realizing that the man was a Canadian citizen. He was later assaulted in the police station.

Two of the guest who went to the victim's aid to the police station were also put behind bars for several hours on flimsy charges.

A University of Toronto professor who witnessed the incident reported that the apartment was raided by over twelve policemen soon after the host was taken away by the police."⁽¹⁾

The above incident raises a question as to how such a large contingent of police could be spared to deal with a \$12.00 ticket incident when there is a shortage of manpower in the force? By the same token, this incident supports the argument of some members of the South Asian community that the police act promptly when the complainant is a white Canadian.

The second area of the South Asians' concern is the police inaction against attackers. Having made allowance for the late arrival of the police on the scene, members of the South Asian community said; "Invariably the police say that they can't do anything unless there is a witness."

(1) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

One of the complainants said: "My house windows were broken. I know who the culprits were. They were teenagers living across the road. So I went and talked to them. The teenagers said, We live in a free country, we are free to do whatever we like to do. I then called the police. I reported the incident to the police. To my surprise the police told me the same thing that the children had told me. The police said...."this is a free country, they can do whatever they like." Since then I have become very suspicious of the police. They do not take any action."

Granted the fact that because of existing legal provisions, the police can't take any action unless there is an independent witness, what happens next?

Many times the police advised the complainant to go to the Justice of the Peace and get a summons issued. In many instances, South Asians have done so. Unfortunately, their experience with the police in this field, too, is not encouraging. Some members complained that even when they go to city-hall and get the summons issued, the summons are not served by the police.. This is exemplified in the following cases. Photo copies of summons are in the appendix.....

"Mr. Pritam Singh Sian's son was attacked by 4 youths in his shop located at Pape and Gerrard. Police were called. Police took no action. The victim went to city-hall and got a summons issued against the attackers. Although eight months have passed, the summons have not yet been served by the police." (1)

"An East Indian was attacked without provocation on Queen Street West in September, 1976. The police were called. The police refused to take any action. The victim got the summons issued. The summons have not yet been served." (2)

"A victim went to city-hall and got the summons issued. The police could not serve the summons. The reason given by the police reads: Accused appears to be in the apartment but would not open the door, so the summons could not be served." (3)

From the analysis presented so far, one reluctantly comes to the conclusion that the South Asian community has a genuine concern about police behaviour. It is quite understandable that the police are influenced by the existing social trend. However, it is important to bear in mind that the police occupy a position of considerable power and authority in society and can't be permitted to behave in a prejudicial manner

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- (1) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony
 - (2) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony
 - (3) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony

simply because others do so. The policeman who practices racial behaviour towards minority groups is more dangerous than the ordinary citizen simply because of his cloak of authority and the fact that he is responsible for protection and not abridging the rights of all citizens.⁽¹⁾

It would be wrong to assume that the entire police force is racially prejudiced. In fact, there may be large numbers of police officers who do not allow the current social trend to influence their public behaviour. But what we are trying to point out is that those who are prejudiced by racism, constitute a threat rather than a source of protection to citizens.

Moreover, one would think that the main emphasis of the role of the police in the society should be more towards preventing social disorder rather than arresting or punishing culprits. Many of the racial attacks discussed earlier could have been prevented had the police handled the situation in the spirit of existing laws.

Finally, a note must be taken of the fact that some members of the community did speak about the positive aspects of their experiences with the police force. They said that they have had a bad experience with police officers at lower levels, but when they approached senior police officers, they found them to be very understanding and co-operative.

So far we have concentrated on an analysis of police behaviour. Let us now examine what happens when having overcome all the problems associated with the police, a South Asian or the police themselves take the accused to court.

(1) Wilson Head "Perception of Police Attitudes and Practices Toward Black and other Minorities in Metropolitan Toronto" A paper presented at Law Enforcement and Race Relations Seminar. Toronto, November, 1976.

2.6. Experience in courts

Because of time constraints we have not been able to carry out an intensive investigation in this area. Moreover, not as many people complained against the courts as against the police. Perhaps this is because very few cases reach that stage. Hence South Asian Canadians have a very limited experience with the courts.

However, whatever limited experience South Asian Canadians have had with the courts, it is far from satisfactory. Many were dissatisfied with the terms of sentences given to people convicted for racial violence. The lenient view taken by the courts in racial matters has been construed by South Asian Canadians as racial prejudice on the part of the judges. This view point may not be true in every case, but there are valid reasons for suspicion in many cases.

In some cases, judges have made explicitly racial remarks. For example, while sentencing a South Asian Canadian, a judge in Kitchener said, "You might do that sort of thing in India, but not here"(1).

On the other hand, the same judge said to a French speaking woman on August 6, 1976, "It is amazing that she would not attempt to learn English which is the language of this country".

Later the judge apologized for his comments about the French woman but did not do so in the case of the South Asian Canadian.

Other experiences with the courts have been narrated in a letter sent to the Attorney General which is reproduced in the appendix.

1) Globe and Mail 8.4.1976

2.7. Other forms of violence

So far we have examined racial violence where some form of legal action was possible after fulfilling certain basic requirements. Now let us examine other forms of violence, where almost no legal remedies are in existence. These consist of hate messages, threatening telephone calls, harassment, racial slurs, etc.

A) Hate Messages

Racist leaflets pushed through letter boxes plastered on walls, or sent anonymously through the post is one of the chief methods used by some organizations to carry out a racial hatred campaign. We give below two examples of such hate literature. One is a poem and another is a letter.

I come for a visit - am treated regal
So I stay.....who care illegal?
I come to Ontario poor and broke
Get on bus, see Manpower bloke
Kind man treat me really well there...
Send me down to see the welfare.
Welfare say "come down no more"
"We send the cash out to your door"
William Davis make you wealthy
Medical plan will make you healthy.

Six months on the dole-get plenty of money
Thanks to working man - the dummy
Write to friends in Pakistan
Tell them come as fast as can.

They all come - in rags and turbans
I buy big house in Surburbans
They come with me....we live together
Only one thing bad - the weather
Fourteen families living in
Neighbours patience wearing thin
Finally whites move away
I buy their house too.....I say
Find more Paki's.....house I rent
More in garden, line in tent.

Send for family - they all trash
send all draw more welfare cash
Everything is goin good -
Soon we own the neighbourhood.
Now on quiet summer nights
Go to Temple - watch the fights
We have hobbies.....it called breeding
"Baby bonus" keeps us feeding

Two year later, big bank roll
Still go Manpower, still draw dole

Kids need Dentist? Wife needs Pills?
We get free, we got no bills.
White men good, he pay all year
To keep the welfare running here.
Bless all white men, big and tall
For paying tax to keep us all.

We thank Ontario - damn good place
Too damn good for white man race,
If they no like coloured man
PLENTY ROOM IN PAKISTAN (1)

The letter reproduced below which was sent by a non-existent organization invites Canadian families to participate in their program for fostering "greater world understanding". It reads as under:

Dear:

As part of our programme for fostering greater world understanding, the Canadian Society for Commonwealth Relations has selected your family as a participating household in our new "Lend A Helping Hand" plan.

You will be pleased, we are sure, to know that we have assigned a typical family group from Pakistan to be guests in your home for the next few months.

These people have suffered a tremendous social upheaval and it will take some time for them to adapt to our way of life. We are sure you will do everything possible to help them make the transition as pleasant as possible, even if it means some minor re-organization in your home and in your personal habits.

The family will consist of the father, mother, nine children, wife's brother husband's grandmother and her sister.

Within the next seven days we shall be able to inform you of the arrival date, routing, and names of your selected family.....we shall include some

1)Sikh Youth Association

receipes from Pakistan, so you may prepare their favourite dishes. As not to inconvenience you, we shall provide adequate supplies of currie, rice, chicken and powdered goat milk. No doubt you will wish to meet them at the airport, we suggest you rent a mini-bus.

While this may seem like only a small gesture, we are convinced that it is only by such brotherhood that the world will become one big happy family. Bless you.....

Yours in Friendship,
The Canadian Society for Commonwealth
Relations (1)

B) Threatening Telephone Calls

A telephone call was received at the residence of a certain South Asian Canadian who is on the staff of the University of Toronto. The husband was at work, his wife picked up the phone. The caller identified himself as an employee with the Toronto Star. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, he confused the name of the U. of T. staff member with that of a prominent South Asian political figure in Britain. The caller told the man's wife. "I know that bastard is a communist. He has created enough trouble in England, and now he has come to Canada." The caller went on into a long tirade against the man, mentioning in particular that he was aware that her husband was involved in various activities to fight racism in Canada. He told her that there was no racism in Canada, and whatever did exist, coloured people would simply have to accept it. He finally warned her that if her husband did not stop his anti-racist activities, he would stop him one day in his car and poison him and after that he would kick her and her children not only out of Canada but out of all English speaking countries. The caller had an English accent.(2)

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- 1) The National Association of Canadians of origin in India.
2) The victim

C) Harassment

At 2:45 p.m. a telephone rang at the house of Mr. Khan. He was at work, hence Mrs. Khan answered the call. The caller said he was a police officer and told her that her husband was involved in an accident and was in the hospital. Mrs. Khan was shocked and started crying. However she asked the caller the name of the hospital. The caller said he did not know, but that he would obtain this information from his colleagues who had reported that accident and would inform her later. Aggrieved and worried Mrs. Khan could not wait for the police to call back. Since her watch showed 2:45 p.m. she thought an accident might have taken place at the husband's place of work. Hence, she telephoned his office. Mr. Khan was not at his desk so she was more worried. Nevertheless, she spoke to his boss who told her that her husband was in the other office and there was no accident involved. He passed that information on to Mr. Khan who in turn spoke to his wife. Both Mr. & Mrs. Khan took that telephone call as a mischievous act and ignored it.

However, at 4 o'clock there was a knock on the door. Mrs. Khan spoke to the caller through the door without removing the door chain. The man at the door was in police uniform. He told her that her husband was in the hospital and that he had asked him to collect her. Hence, he wanted her to accompany him to the hospital. She told him to wait outside while she changed. She telephoned the police immediately. By the time the police arrived on the scene, which took quite some time, the man in the police uniform had disappeared. The police took down the complaint and left. At 7:30 p.m. Mr. Khan enquired the police about the progress of the case. The police appeared very rude.(1)

1) (Association of Pakistani Canadians of Toronto)

A representative of the Bangladesh Association stated that they have received several complaints of similar nature from their members and others.

Members of the Pakistani Community said that they receive several complaints from people who say their doors are knocked on continuously early in the morning at 2 a.m. Tomatoes and eggs, garbage etc. are thrown at their doors and racial slurs are written all over.

D) Racial Slurs

Racial slurs such as "Paki go home" are abounding everywhere and are used so frequently that it is redundant to document them. Nevertheless, to complete our analysis, we give below the experience of an South Asian Canadian which would serve as a representative example of the daily experience of other South Asian Canadians.

"These are factual incidents, which have personally affected me and my family. I doubt anyone would consider these to be isolated cases as I am positive others have experienced similar situations and that the cancerous growth of racism is widespread.

(1) It was the summer of 1974. I was driving my family on a weekend outing on Bloor Street West, Toronto, when suddenly I realized a car was driving along side me on my left, with about four or five teenagers in it. For no reason at all, they seemed agitated and started shouting and gesticulating verbal abuse "f---ing Paki" at me and the other occupants in my car. I pretended that I was preoccupied with the road and ignored their tauntings. The reasons why I was not prepared for a confrontation were: (i) my wife and child were in the car with me (ii) my aged mother, who is a heart patient, was also with me.

(2) While on my way home from work, one evening - sometime in 1975 I took the subway to Islington. Four teenage youths happened to be in the same car with me. They were pre-occupied with their own discussions and did not notice me, I presume, until the train reached Islington station. They took the stairs, while I took the esclator up. One of the four, who was following the other three, looked directly at me and shouted out loudly to the others, "Hey, There's a Paki". I looked him straight in the eye and replied "Do you mean me?" They realized that I was not afraid to face them squarely and all four disappeared in the rush.

(3) In January, 1976, I bought a Condominium apartment in a high rise complex of 220 family units in Mississauga. The composition of the residents by country of origin is varied, and it includes Canadian born residents as well as residents from United Kingdom, France, Italy, Pakistan, Middle East, South America, West Indies and African countries.

The new building had hardly been occupied a month, when the boards protecting the three elevators were plastered with racial graffitti directed particularly against the brown skinned, grouped together as "Pakis". Incidentally, the nationals of Pakistan are hardly ten families or 5% of the total population. The slogans ran the gamut of obscenities such as "Pakis smell", "Pakis are shit", "Pakis are dirty", etc. etc. etc. The damage had been done. You can imagine the effect the grafitti had on other open-minded residents. It was a month before the boards were pulled down. So it is evident here that racial prejudice is being directed towards the visible minority, whether they come from Pakistan, West Indies, Guyana or Timbukto. This location was a potential racial time bomb which I have managed to defuse by channelling energies into recreational activity. The only conclusion drawn is that some of the anglo saxons were either perpetuating it, encouraging it or were non-committal about eradicating it.

(4) I have been a student at Humber College in Rexdale and Centennial College in Scarborough. The men's washrooms are full of Paki abuse. So also are the washrooms in most of the subway stations, restaurants, Malton Airport Terminals and shopping plazas to be specific: The Sheridan Mall in Erin Mills and Square One in Mississauga. Some examples are: "A good Paki is a dead one". "If black is beautiful, I just shot a masterpiece".

(5) At McDonald's restaurant on Hwy 10, south of the Q.E.W., I was waiting in the queue with my daughter sleeping in my arms. A group of four teenagers, behind me, jostled me intentionally, spewing Paki abuse. I retaliated in spite of my hands not being free, that I would make them eat their teeth instead of the hamburgers they had come for. It was very effective and promptly silenced them.⁽¹⁾

It is important to point out that it would be undersirable to underestimate the implications of the use of the word "Paki".

The word "Paki" is used to denote a negative stereotype of the image that Canadians have about South Asians. It is used, first, to put South Asian Canadians down and secondly, to signify that they are aware that South Asian Canadians are different and that this difference is unacceptable to them.

Whenever South Asian Canadians are subjected to this, a large number of them tend to ignore it because of the fear that the response on their part may result in further arguments and subsequently in physical violence. Confronting this slur leaves most South Asians with feelings of anger, frustration and disappointment.

1) From a brief submitted to Walter Pitman's Task Force on Human Relations.

2.8. Effects on the South Asian Canadian community:

The racial violence, physical as well as verbal, has produced damaging effects on the South Asian Canadian community. These could be classified into internal and external effects.

As regards internal effects South Asian Canadians are beginning to develop a tendency of withdrawal from social and recreational activities. Women are afraid of going alone in shopping plazas. Families tend not to go out in the evenings. They feel worried going to parks or on picnics. Many times, they do not allow their children to go out to play; instead the children have to play in the apartment. Fewer South Asian use subways at night.

According to a statement from the Sikh Youth Association, there have been frequent quarrels in families on account of racial incidents. For example a woman who stays home is usually very anxious to go out on weekends, but her husband who goes out to work, experiences or hears about racial incidents is reluctant to go out with the family on weekends. This causes quarrels in the family.

It is needless to mention that racial incidents have produced great emotional tension and worries in an average South Asian Canadian.

As for external effects, lack of confidence in the police is leading many South Asian Canadians to talk of defending themselves. A militant East Indian Defence Committee threatens to fight back.

However, contrary to other minority groups South Asian Canadians tend to integrate. They do not like to create a ghetto. As a result South Asian Canadians reside all over Metro. It used to be the case that a South Asian

looking for a place to live would look for an apartment building where there would not be too many other Asians. However, because of racial trouble, the trend appears to have been reversed. People now tend to rent an apartment in an area already occupied by South Asians. The underlying reason behind this trend is that in the event of a racial attack the family is likely to get help from a South Asian Canadian rather than a white Canadian. Moreover, living together may provide a sense of strength to South Asians and act as a deterrent to racial attackers.

1.9 Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter was to understand the nature of racial violence against the South Asian Canadian community that has been taking place in recent months. From the evidence presented at the beginning it is quite clear that racial violence is much more widespread than is generally assumed. Such violence established a diversified pattern. Numerical increase or decrease in a particular type of racial incident is easily noticed and public policy makers become rather sensitive to that trend. However, for the purpose of framing public policy, one needs to lay greater emphasis on the diversified nature of violence. It would be relatively easy for law enforcement agencies to take effective measures if racial attacks are taking place on the public transport system and TTC and the police can control this. Equally, if they are carried out by only certain elements in the society, it may be possible to stamp out those elements. But when racial violence is diversified in terms of nature, location, and people, it would require deliberate policy measures in all directions.

Violence is still on the increase but this increase is not noticeable because (a) it is diversified (b) probably South Asian Canadians make less use of public places out of fear (c) very few cases are reported by victims and (d) few incidents are reported in the press.

There is a general consensus among South Asian Canadians that the police are not protecting them. Their feelings toward the police have changed from friendship and respect to deep mistrust. The police are blamed, first, for not responding to their requests for assistance in time, second, for taking any action, and third, for not serving summons. Moreover, the police are accused of displaying a hostile attitude towards South Asian Canadians.

The mutual mistrust between the police and certain sections of the Canadian Society such as South Asian Canadians is not a healthy sign.

We also found that other forms of violence, such as racial slurs, hate messages and harassment have increased considerably. They also do much harm. However, unlike physical violence, there is no legal remedy against them. This may be one of the reasons for the rise in incidents involving harassments.

In fact it was observed that the people who carry out racial violence appear to follow the strategy of shifting their emphasis from physical attack to harassment according to time and circumstances. If they feel that attacks may result in conviction, or that the police are vigilant, they may terrorise South Asian Canadians by adopting tactics of harassment.

The most alarming aspect to emerge from our analysis is the fact that in most of the cases of racial violence, members of the public were present but, with the exception of one or two incidents, the people remained as mere observers.

To sum up, the racial violence against South Asian Canadians clearly

demonstrates that Canadian society as a whole has unquestionably failed in providing protection to the minority groups.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the concerns felt by the South Asian Canadian community in the field of education. We deal first with schools and then with education at the post-secondary level.

3.2 Schools

In dealing with schools, we recognise that South Asian children face problems in schools even without any overt racism being directed against them as such. These problems can be classified into (a) the internal problems arising from the background of the South Asian child as compared with the entirely different type of surroundings with which he/she is suddenly faced, and (b) the external problem which arises from the image about him and the country of his origin in the minds of teachers and other children.

In addition to these problems, the South Asian child faces deliberate racism aimed at him in a variety of ways.

These problems are discussed in the next few sections.

3.3 Schools - the internal problem

The internal problem faced by South Asian Canadian child can be described in terms of the culture shock to which he becomes subject when he first enters a Canadian classroom.

This has been well described in a recent paper by Deo Kernahan:¹ Kernahan states:

"the East-Indian child's entry into the classroom is a shattering experience. New faces, new books, generous supply of sophisticated teaching machines, and materials perhaps unseen before, systematic routines and the apparent permissiveness in peers' behavioral patterns lead him into a stage of shock and disbelief. He feels himself a different species of the human race. Incapable at this point to sort out his confused world, he is now expected to participate in a face to face situation with an individual, or a group of individuals, different from him in skin and speech. This really floors him. The initial shock is enough to make him withdrawn. Being placed in a learning situation in which he can't avoid making mistakes confounds him into shyness and inhibits his participation in open and closed discussions. Added to these stresses are the realities of his lack of proficiency in functional English and his invariably weak skills in verbal communication. This problem becomes more acutely perturbing when he becomes aware of his "funny" accent. His sensitivity of this fact of a language barrier compels him to be apprehensive and dismayed. Unless his confidence is given a moral boosting, pressure is likely to build up, day by day, rendering him tense and introverted. These factors cause him to keep aloof from others for reasons quite beyond his control. Emotionally insecure, he shies from social and recreational activities in school."

The problems described by Kernahan may be common to children from other immigrant groups and may vary considerably from one South Asian child to another depending upon the last country of his residence , the nature of his earlier education and the extent of westernisation of his family prior to immigration. The problems described are likely to be faced more intensely by those South Asian children who came directly

1. Deo. G. Kernahan. "The Education of East-Indian child: Scope, Cope and Hope" paper presented at Indians in Toronto Conference 1977

from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh or Ceylon, who had been taught through the medium of their mother tongue rather than English in the schools they had attended there and who had been subjected to relatively limited western influences within the family.

Given time and corrective measures, most children can overcome these problems. Sympathy, assistance and encouragement from teachers and friendliness and cooperation from fellow students (in turn probably the result of encouragement from teachers and parents) could work wonders in this regard. Once the initial shock has been overcome and the resulting inhibitions dealt with the children involved should be able to slip smoothly for the most part into normal school life.

It must be recognised however that absence of sympathy, assistance and encouragement from teachers and friendliness and cooperation from fellow students could inhibit this process of adjustment considerably and sometimes cause great and permanent harm to the child.

3.4 Schools - the external problem

The South Asian community was most concerned about the external problem a child faces in the classroom. The external problem arises from the image that teachers and other children have about him and the country of his origin.

Most of the people in the West, have what a leading British politician, Dorothy Woodman, called the "Oxfam image of the Indian sub-continent", i.e. of poverty stricken nations. To

this it is added that South Asians are socially and culturally backward. This overall image is widely prevalent in Canadian schools, both among teachers and students.

This image is reinforced by existing text books, which have a great bias towards the West and western civilization. As against this, very little, if any, mention is made about the Indian sub-continent. This continent has made a great contribution to the Western civilization.

Nearly one fifth of the world's population lives on this sub-continent. The people of this sub-continent have 5000 years of civilization and culture behind them and were already advanced when the people of Europe were still living in caves. This sub-continent has made great contributions to western civilization itself. The concept of zero in the number system and the standard numerical system used today were introduced by India and replaced the system of Roman numerals. Most European languages were derived from Sanskrit, which is the basic language on which other Indian languages are based. Music, drama, poetry, architecture, town planning, the political sciences, astronomy and other physical sciences, as well as academies and universities, etc. were developed in India well before the Greeks knew about them. With the exception of the Judeo-Christian religions, all the other major religions of the world were born in that sub-continent. These are historical facts and evidence of them is found everywhere in the Indian sub-continent even today.

Moreover in recent years, this continent has produced international statesmen, great philosophers, Nobel laurels, scientists, etc.

The exclusion of studies of one of the world's largest population groups and oldest civilizations from the materials studied in Canadian schools creates a wide gap in the knowledge of Canadian students and the public at large. This is a serious flaw in the Canadian educational system, not merely from the point of view of race relations but in terms of educational principles. It is inconceivable that an educational system should ignore what effectively amounts to a half of the world.

This gap in the knowledge of teachers and other students, creates communication problems between them and immigrant children. As a result of this and of the existence of a negative image about the South Asian region and people from there, strong external pressures are created on South Asian children.

3.5 Schools - the problem of racism

From our discussion so far it is clear that South Asian children in secondary schools are subjected to internal and external pressures even without infiltration of race-oriented issues in schools.

Let us now open our analysis to incorporate the added pressure generated by racism in the school environment. Racism in schools is demonstrated through racial-slurs and physical violence against South Asian children and the racial attitudes of teachers. In this connection, a survey of 255 Ontario students mostly between the ages of 12 & 15 by Janet Rosenstock and Dennis Adair¹ showed that the majority held bigoted attitudes especially against East Indians. It also mentioned that students talked of "Paki-busting" as a new pastime, and of extermination. The report concluded "the situation demands emergency action."

As regards the attitudes of teachers, Ratie Rutledge, who teaches English as a second language to immigrant students at Cedarbrae Collegiate said, "Teachers are often responsible for discrimination against students who are members of minority groups". She further said "teachers often unknowingly single out minority students in their classes."

The Globe & Mail, in a recent article entitled "Democracy in school.....", reported a teacher as saying that her "colleagues are not beyond hypocrisy." The article further suggests that sometimes mere lip service is paid to our democratic values in schools. The article continues "A few will leave a classroom where they talk about equality of all men and five minutes later in the staff room they will express some really bigoted views."

1. Janet Rosenstock & Dennis Adair, "Multi Racialism in the Class-Room"

Racial slurs and physical violence have become very common in schools. As one community group puts it, "it is rare to find a school which has not experienced either racial slurs or physical attacks or both." Some representative examples given below will illustrate the nature of the problem.

The Canadian Council for Racial Harmony has reported that a South Asian child was harassed (with racial slurs) by other children and the teacher in one of the Etobicoke schools. He was also beaten. The parents complained against this attack to the principal, the Trustees, the Chairman of the Etobicoke Board of Education, the M.P., the Human Rights Commission, etc. However, no action was taken.

Sikh Religion dictates that hair must never be cut; instead it is drawn into a bun on the crown of the head and covered with a handkerchief or turban. But when a Sikh child goes to school, Canadian children in the school yard repeatedly rip off his head covering and taunt, "What is this on your head Paki".⁽¹⁾

1)Mcleans Magazine, Feb. 1977

The Association of Pakistani Canadians of Toronto has reported the story of a Pakistani student who was beaten in the school almost daily by other children. The parents complained against this to the principal, but no action was taken. The parents then complained to the police. The response of the police was negative. One day, the same Pakistani student was attacked by four students and a girl who was not a student. Surprisingly, the girl then made a complaint against the Pakistani student to the police. The police officer involved told the Pakistani student, "Paki I will nail you down." Accordingly, charges were being laid against him. Meanwhile, the parents approached the President of the Association of Pakistani Canadians of Toronto, who in turn got in touch with senior police officials. On enquiry, the case was dropped.¹

The racial problems encountered by South Asian students are summarised by some grade 8 students in Cambridge, Ontario. They were personally interviewed and their experience is quoted below as told.

"We have to take two public buses to go to our school. When we get into the first bus, every day, we are hassled by a group of students. They continue shouting 'Paki Paki' from the time we get into the bus until we get down. Many times, we

1. Association of Pakistani Canadians of Toronto

tried to get the assistance of the bus driver without success. While we wait for the second bus, we are also harassed and the same is the experience in the other bus. During the lunch hour, while we take lunch some students walk toward us shouting "let us see what the Pakis are eating." We complained about this to our teacher and to the principal. Nothing was done. We then got so fed up with this harassment that we decided to take our lunch outside on the lawn. Our teacher saw us taking lunch outside. She walked toward us and shouted at us 'How do you think you will get integrated in Canadian society when you sit out'. We knew from her past behaviour that she had racial prejudice. One day she decided that students in her class should speak on any subject they liked. One student in his speech said 'I will not allow Pakis to come here' and the teacher clapped. At the end of his speech, the teacher said 'Good'. Thus we have been harassed by students as well as by teachers. We can't make a complaint against the teacher. Otherwise, we will get low grades. What can we do? We tried our level best to mix with white students but they do not mix with us. Instead, they harass us."

As a result of such racial problems, most of the South Asian children come home from school instead of playing in the school play ground.

3.6 Schools - the cumulative effect

The cumulative effects of the internal and external pressures discussed earlier and the racial problem which South Asian children have to face are having grave adverse effects on the mental capacity of South Asian children. Although most South Asian students are doing extremely well in their studies, there have been cases where the academic performance of the students has been affected by these pressures. This appears to have been construed by some teachers as indicating their poor abilities. The students are then considered as slow learners and placed in lower grades or failed. No attempts appear to have been made by teachers to help children to overcome their social and other problems in school.¹

As it is, students are frustrated because of the lack of effective measures on the part of teachers to deal with their problems. In addition, they receive the further blow of failure in the class. This has a demoralising effect on them. Once defeatist attitudes set in at this very early period in their lives, their future career and growth will be impaired for ever.

3.7 Post-secondary institutions

Students attending post-secondary institutions such as community colleges or universities are generally not subjected to physical violence and racial slurs on the same scale as

1. South Asian Origins Liaison Committee of the Toronto Board of Education.

secondary school children. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that there are no racial problems¹⁾ Visits to a few washrooms immediately demonstrates that racial slurs are everywhere. One is used to seeing jokes or sex-oriented humorous comments on washroom walls. These demonstrate a certain type of psychological behaviour of certain age groups. However, it would be wrong to equate racial slurs with other humour. These slurs represent the students' resentment about a certain section of the Canadian population. In a few years time, these students will occupy positions of authority in the Government, in universities and in industries. Hence, there is a danger that the present resentment may turn into vicious action at a later date.

One major area of concern mentioned in this field was that of the English test for admission to the Universities. There may be some rational grounds for administering such a test. Nevertheless, it is looked upon with great suspicion not only by the South Asian community but by other immigrant groups as well. It is felt that this test is designed to preserve the domination of the Anglo-Saxon fraction of the society. It is argued that immigrant children may not have the same command over English as their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Hence such a test may go against their interests.

Admittedly, one cannot totally ignore the need for an English test and at the same time one cannot brush aside society's suspicion of it. English is a language as well as a medium

1) Case histories on racial attacks in post-secondary institutions are given in Appendix.....

of instruction. If the student is taking admission for a degree in the English language or in English literature, he must have a complete command of the English language. In that case, an English test for admission is essential.

As against this, if a student is taking admission to a subject other than English, then the role of English is purely as a medium of instruction. Lack of command over English should not deprive a student of the opportunity to gain knowledge of a subject in which he is interested. For example, hundreds of European students go to universities in Britain to undertake undergraduate or post-graduate studies with comparatively little or only working knowledge of English.

3.8 Increase in fees for overseas students

Another related issue is the increase in fees charged to overseas students studying in Ontario Universities.¹ The South Asian Community showed great understanding of the reasons for such a move. However, what concerns them most was its blanket application. For example, if the cost of education is high say in Buffalo or Detroit and lower in Canada, students from those places may perhaps try to take advantage of the low cost in Canada and seek admission into the universities of Windsor, Waterloo, St. Catherines, etc. In those cases, it is quite justifiable to charge the students

1. Indian Student Association, University of Toronto.

higher fees. That may deter them from taking their education in Canada but will not harm them, because (a) there are similar educational facilities in the U.S.A. and (b) they can afford the higher cost. To charge similar increased fees to a student coming here from Guyana is inequitable. This is because (a) there are no alternative educational facilities in Guyana and (b) he cannot afford to pay the higher fees. In his case, the increase in fees has a harmful effect.

In justifying the increase, the British example was often quoted. However, it was only partially quoted. The measures adopted by Britain to reduce the harmful effect on students from the Third World Countries were not widely known or mentioned.

The late Anthony Crossland, who was Minister of Education in the Wilson Government, brought forward the bill in 1967, to charge higher fees to overseas students. According to that bill, the British student was required to pay £75.00 while the foreign student had to pay £250.00. A foreign student was defined as one whose period of residence in the U.K. was less than three years.

There was strong opposition to this bill from National Union of Students, the labour movement, universities, etc. on the ground that it would hurt students from the Third World Countries. Although the Minister managed to get the bill passed, he allocated certain funds within his own Ministry

to assist overseas student from the Third World Countries so that the increased fee would not prevent students from these areas from taking their education in Britain.

Accordingly, the British Government instituted the overseas student Fees Award and this was administered through the British Council. The policy is that if a student is unable to pay the increased fees, he could apply to the British Council through the University or through his Government. His entire fee of £250 (not the difference between £75 and £250) would be paid by the British Council for the duration of his course.

This policy removed the hardship encountered by students from Third World Countries. One would have expected the Ontario Government to institute a similar scheme when it increased the fees. In the absence of any positive steps on the part of the provincial Government, students coming from the Indian sub-continent are undergoing great hardships.

3.9. Conclusion

We commenced this chapter with the problems that the South Asian children encounter upon entering the schools for the first time. First we discussed the problems faced by them in the absence of racism. These problems were themselves classified into internal and external.

The external problem concerns the image that teachers and other students have about the South Asian child and his socio-cultural background. They are built into the present educational system. The present system imparts knowledge only about half of the world to Canadians and the current external problems of South Asian children emanate from this. This is a serious flaw in the current educational system.

We then discussed the effects of racism in schools. We found that South Asian children in schools are continuously subjected to racial slurs and even physical assaults.

A South Asian child in school is thus subjected to both internal and external pressures and at the same time he is confronted with the racial problem. To sustain such pressure at a relatively young age is too much for a child. His creative energy is dampened by external forces over which he has no control. The ultimate result of all this is that his academic performance is seriously affected.

Finally, we examined the post-secondary sector. Here, the problems are not as overt as they are in secondary institutions. This is because as we move up the educational ladder, racial prejudices take more subtle forms.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT4.1. Introduction

The relationship between South Asian Canadians and the behaviour of the Canadian Labour Market has not been the subject of much systematic research in spite of the rise in public interest in discrimination. This chapter discusses the subject of discrimination against non-whites in employment in Canada.

This subject is an extremely difficult one to handle. There are several reasons for this:

- a Discrimination is practiced in a very complex and subtle manner.
- b The employment behaviour of Canadian employers varies considerable from one group of immigrants to another.
- c There are some genuine problems concerning the comparability of the basic data - years of schooling relative experience, labour market experience etc.
- d It is obviously extremely difficult to furnish proof of discrimination.

The concept of discrimination in employment has an international dimension in the sense that it originates in the flow of immigrants into Canada from various parts of the world. The first logical step therefore, is to analyse the pattern of immigration to Canada. Though this is beyond the scope of this report, it has important implications for the subject under discussion. We then examine the general experience of South Asian Canadians in

the labour market. This is followed by concluding section.

4.2. Canadian immigration

When the size and growth of a country's labour force depends entirely on factors affecting that country's indigenous population, the labour market tends to function more or less in accordance with the normal operation of the forces of demand and supply. However, when the labour force is affected by an inflow of immigrants, additional factors begin to play a significant role. The immigration policies themselves are not determined by purely economic factors but by social, psychological and political factors as well. Very often the latter overrides the former, thereby creating serious problems in connection with the utilization of manpower and with the productivity of labour.

A number of reports and studies published by the Economic Council of Canada and other agencies point out that Canada's economic growth depends on the influx of immigrants. In recognition of this fact, Canada has over the years actively sought immigration from all over the world. In doing so Canada has determined the overall racial composition it would like to have in Canadian Society. Accordingly, it has established immigrant processing centres in various parts of the world. For example, Table 4.1. shows that in the U.K., with a total population in 1971 of 48.6 millions Canada had four immigrant processing centres, whereas in India, with a population in the same year of 560.1 millions, there was only one office. Column 5 of this table, which shows the population in millions served by each Immigration Officer, indicates clearly that Canadian immigration rules give greater preference to white than to non-white immigrants. The process of selection used is also important. Canadian immigration policy thus oper-

ates like filters through which only certain types of people can pass.

Table 4.1. Canadian Immigration Offices Overseas

Location of Canadian Im- migration office	Number of Offices	No. of Officers	Region served by Officers	Population in 1971 (in millions)	Populatio in (1971) in mil- lions served by an Immi- gration Officer (#5/3) (6)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
U.K.	4+	20	U.K.	48.6	2.43
France	3	9	France	49.8	5.5
Germany	3	8	Germany	59.4	7.4
Italy	3	6	Italy	49.9	8.3
Portugal	3	4	Portugal	8.7	2.2
Greece	1	4	Greece	8.8	2.2
Japan	1	3	Japan	103.7	34.6
Pakistan	1	2	Pakistan*	93.8	46.9
Australia	1	4	Australia & New Zealand	14.5	3.6
Israel	1	1	Israel	2.2	2.2
India	1	4	India & Ceylon	560.1	140.0

+ London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow

*Including Bangladesh

Source: UNESCO 1971 Year Book:
Dept. Of Manpower & Immigration

These filters are based on language, cultural ties, historical and political ties, geographical proximity, skills etc. On this basis, Canada has favoured the entry of Europeans and Americans and placed restrictions on people from the Third World countries.

4.3. Employment barriers

Since the late 60s, the proportion of skilled and educated immigrants of South Asian origins have increased. At the same time, the Canadian educational system has gone through rapid expansion, producing an increasing number of high school and university graduates each year. This has created a situation of acute competition between Canadian graduates and South Asians in the Canadian labour market.

Under conditions of perfect competition, the employment of labour is based in the optimising behaviour of employers. One, therefore, would have expected that in a competitive market economy such as Canada, market forces would decide the type of labour to be employed in the economy. However, the examination of the labour market structure shows the existence of imperfect market conditions. The market is influenced by a number of non-economic considerations.

Basically the Canadian labour is divided into three main categories viz. Canadian citizens, landed immigrants and foreigners. Under existing immigration procedures, foreigners cannot get jobs in Canada if Canadian citizens or landed immigrants are available for the job. Hence, we are excluding the last category from our analysis. This leaves two main categories of competitors - Canadian citizens and landed immigrants.

The competition between Canadian citizens and landed immigrants in the labour market is not, however, free. It can be compared to the competition between domestic goods and foreign goods in the domestic market of a country. To protect domestic industry, a country creates a certain number of barriers to the entry of foreign goods. Similarly, to protect Canadian citizens, certain barriers are often created to prevent the entry of landed immigrants into the Canadian labour market in particular fields or professions such as Accountancy, Engineering, Chemistry, Economics, etc. One such barrier is the requirement of Canadian experience, which effectively bars the landed immigrant from the labour market in his chosen profession.

It is sometimes suggested that there is competition between Canadian citizens and landed immigrants on the basis of their skill based genuinely on their Canadian experience. If this had been really so, Canadian citizens returning home after graduating abroad or people from advance countries immigrating to Canada would have been automatically barred from the Canadian labour market because of the Canadian experience constraint. Even a quick study of the situation shows that the Canadian experience constraint either did not exist in their case or was relaxed for them. It is obvious that social and psychological factors have played a part and that in general these factors do influence labour market behaviour in Canada.

The competition between Canadian citizens and landed immigrants is translated into competition between "we" and "they". In a country where the native population is homogenous the terms "we" and "they" distinguish the legal status of different sections of the population. However, in a country where

the population is heterogenous and where cultural ties are taken very explicitly into account in immigration policies, the terms "we" and "they" do not remain any longer as legal distinctions but become transformed into social and cultural distinctions. As a result, what we have in the labour market is competition between different social groups. In a situation like this, employers may have an inherent psychological bias towards hiring people of the same cultural grouping.

This bias contributes to discriminatory practices. However, because of the existence of Human Rights legislation at the provincial level, discrimination is often practised not openly but in subtler ways especially through the erection of employment barriers.

South Asian Canadian leaders were unanimous in considering these barriers as discriminatory. What made the situation worse was their inability to take effective action against such practices under the existing Human Rights Code. It was here that concern was most strongly expressed by the South Asian Canadian community. The follow up interview with some job seekers showed that they were justified in the greater majority of other complaints that they had been discriminated against when applying for jobs. There are also a number of studies which suggest that such barriers to employment do exist in the country.

To understand the way in which the phenomenon of discrimination works, it would be useful to follow the sequence of stages that job seekers generally go through in the Canadian labour market.

4.4. Canada manpower

For a immigrant, the logical place to start the search for a job is a Canada Manpower Centre. Almost all South Asian Canadians register with Canada Manpower Centres. The prime responsibility of CMC counsellors is to arrange, quickly and efficiently, the matching of men and jobs. Where training or other assistance will render an individual more employable, their task is to try to place him in training courses consistent with his occupational goal.

However, the task confronting CMC counsellors is not an easy one - especially during a period of high unemployment. This fact was acknowledged by the majority of South Asian Canadian leaders and others, though some did express resentment at the manner in which they were treated by some counsellors.

Given the low level of current economic activities, the main complaint of South Asian Canadians was that CMC was an inadequate instrument for helping them to get the kind of jobs most of them seek. Among the vacancies reported to the CMC's are a disproportionate number of low-skill jobs, often with small entrepreneurs who lack personnel departments that can efficiently search for and hire workers on their own. Included among them also are a large number of jobs in the primary sectors, where the turnover is generally high and employers simply put in standing orders to the CMC's. The upshot is that of the jobs they do have registered, the CMC's carry a large number that are unattractive, frequently of a relatively temporary nature and low paying.

In short, the role of the CMC's has traditionally been to

provide a free service to the more fiercely competitive, labour-intensive sectors or, in the case of mining and forestry industries, to find skilled and unskilled workers for remote locations.⁽¹⁾

As against this, an average South Asian Canadian seeking a job in the Canadian labour market is a professional whose needs for assistance from a public placement agency such as the CMC's are markedly different. The position of the South Asian Canadian in this respect, needs to be examined in comparison with the various avenues for obtaining employment available to his Canadian counterpart.

An educated, Canadian searching for a job may be able to get the assistance of his University placements office, use the contacts of his teachers in government offices and industries and obtain help from friends, relatives, private agencies etc. These avenues are not available to immigrants, who therefore, look towards the CMC. As the CMC's are not equipped to fulfill the needs of educated immigrants, they serve no useful purpose in their present form as far as placement of the professional immigrant is concerned.

Moreover, community leaders as well as job seekers consistently complain about the discriminatory behaviour of Canada Manpower counsellors toward people from Third World countries both in respect of job search and training. For example the representative of Canadian Council for Racial Harmony said "many Canadian Manpower counsellors are racist. They do not practice what they preach." She further said "A woman with a PhD degree was told by a counsellor that the

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(1) Economic Council of Canada

only job she could hope for would be as a cleaner. Another woman with a University of Toronto degree was stalled in her efforts to get a job buying groceries for an elderly lady. A man wanting to find a job in his field after obtaining a degree was denied information as to where he could apply."

4.5. Private agencies

The alternative to public placement is private agencies.

These agencies have been criticized from time to time for discriminatory behaviour against non-white immigrants.

Immigrants complain that these agencies go out of their way to find employment for native Canadians but when it comes to assisting non-whites they do very little beyond filling in application forms. Sometimes, the receptionist at the counter turns them away.

All informants were not uniform in their criticism about private agencies. Those who were able to get employment maintained that some of these agencies were very helpful.

In general, private agencies by the very nature of their operations are employer oriented and therefore, mainly serve their interests. They reflect employer-behaviour. It is therefore necessary to examine private employers behaviour and see how they discriminate against South Asian Canadians and other non-whites.

4.6. Private employers

The principal method by which employers discriminate against

South Asian Canadians is the erection of barriers to prevent their entry into the competitive labour market. In very many cases, these barriers are unrelated to actual job requirements and performance and are beyond the control of job seekers. These barriers exclude capable persons from employment in productive jobs. The main barriers examined were inflated or artificial educational requirements and the requirement of Canadian experience.

a Education requirements

The educational requirement prescribed for a given job may be rather arbitrary and sometimes subjective. The experiences of a number of informants were summed up by me who had a master's degree. This person responded to an advertisement for a job requiring a graduate degree and told the prospective employer that he did have the requisite qualifications. The employer responded by saying that as the applicant had no Canadian degree, he thought he was under-qualified. He would have considered a candidate with a Master's degree from overseas. When the applicant telephoned again under an assumed name and told the same employer that he had a Master's degree, the employer responded that the applicant was over-qualified! What he was really looking for, he explained, was someone who was a graduate.

The second consistent theme in the complaints of South Asian Canadians was the feeling that their competitive positions were hampered by the general suspicion about their educational qualifications. The report of an empirical investigation carried out by the Human Rights Commission mentioned interviews with employers who felt that University degrees could be

purchased in India.⁽¹⁾ Similar remarks appeared in newspapers in one form or another. This indicates not only the general level of ignorance about the educational system in India but also the intention to promote such myths which are detrimental to the employment possibilities of South Asian Canadians. Both in India and in Pakistan, the universities are created by Acts of Parliament or of provincial assemblies. Their performance is frequently subjected to public scrutiny. There are no unofficial degree awarding institutions in India or in Pakistan. Hence, to say that one can purchase a degree in the sub-continent is patently false and is only intended to discredit South Asian Canadians.

The faulty knowledge of employers about educational qualifications obtained abroad often causes them to choose holders of certain degrees basically because of the prestige attached to this or that title or this or that university. Others systematically, recruit staff having the same training as they have had themselves or training about which they happen to know without troubling to build up teams in which different, varied and complementary talents are represented.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the traditional attitude about the educational background of South Asian Canadians makes it difficult for Canadian employers to make rational decisions about the employment of South Asian Canadians.

A related problem arises in connection with the method of evaluation of their education. In order to assist the employer to understand the level of immigrants' education in relation to Canadian education, some measure of comparability is

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1) Report on "Job advertising and Canadian Experience" by the Toronto and Area Unit of Project 122 of the Province of Ontario's Experience 76 Summer Employment Program for Students.

desirable. The need for this was well recognized by the South Asian Canadian community. In the field of evaluation of secondary school education no complaint was made. This may be due to the fact that there are very few, if any, South Asian Canadians in the labour market with only secondary education. A large proportion of the South Asian Canadian labour force consists of people with first or post graduate degrees and professional qualifications; the most concerns was expressed by this group.

The Ontario Ministry of Education has a unit which undertakes the evaluation of overseas qualifications. What method or criterion they adopt is unknown. This makes whole evaluation process rather unsatisfactory.

Moreover, at the post graduate level, the evaluation process gets even more complicated and subjective. There is a tendency to evaluate a particular course in the light of the general reputation of the university concerned. However, there may not be any correlation between the overall reputation of the university and the quality of the different courses conducted by it. In fact the structure of the course varies considerable according to the availability and academic achievements of the teaching staff. For instance, it is generally assumed by employers that degrees from Indian University are not equivalent to Canadian degrees. With this assumption in mind, an employer may reject a post graduate degree holder from Delhi University, who did his academic work under an internationally known authority in his own area, while appointing some one who has done his post graduate degree from an average Canadian university under a relatively unknown person.

Universities are also uncertain in their evaluation of foreign degrees. For example, Mr. X, a mechanical engineer from India, was turned down for a job in his field on the basis of his qualification. He therefore, tried to get his qualification evaluated by the Research Information Evaluation Service on Comparative Education at the University of Toronto. Mr. X had carried out a program of studies of 5 years in length in the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering at the Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay, India. On completion of all requirements, he had been admitted in 1971 to the degree of Bachelor of Technology in Mechanized Engineering and placed in the second class. The Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay, is recognized institution of higher learning in India and is described in the Association of Commonwealth Universities Handbook.

The University of Toronto took a rather vague position in this matter. It was stated:

it is somewhat difficult to compare courses and degrees of India with those of this country, because of differences in the basic approach, emphasis and philosophy of the educational system and the kind of training underlying the overall study programs. We can't say that Mr. X's degree of Bachelor of Technology in Mechanical Engineering in the second class entirely corresponds to the Bachelor of Applied Science degree of the University of Toronto but we would consider that on a theoretical basis it is approximately comparable. The type of training, however, in this field given in Indian universities is not similar to the engineering training in Canadian higher institutions."

This last sentence which comments on Indian universities shows a total lack of understanding about the Indian educational system. The basic approach, emphasis and philosophy of the training given at the Indian Institute of Technology are different from those of Indian universities. The Institutes of Technology in India are transplants of U.S. engineering institutions and differ fundamentally from Indian universities.

Since the statement quoted shows no awareness of the existence of this difference, it raises serious doubts about the validity of the criteria used to evaluate overseas qualifications even at an institution of this kind.

b Canadian experience

Very often the South Asian Canadian is denied a job by the private sector on the basis of lack of Canadian experience. However, not all Canadians had Canadian experience when they first immigrated to Canada or moved from one job to a completely different job within Canada. Experience is a process of learning by doing and can be acquired as one does the job.

Moreover, there is nothing unique about Canadian experience. Canadians have gone abroad to work without prior experience of the country concerned. Others have immigrated to Canada and have been employed without Canadian experience. But in the case of South Asian Canadians and other non-whites, the requirement of Canadian experience is used as convenient method for employers to discriminate against them without violating to the formal provisions of the Human Rights Code.

The discriminatory nature of the concept of Canadian experience can be shown both empirically and analytically. Last year the Ontario Human Rights Commission carried out an empirical study on the subject of Canadian experience and found that in a large number of cases, the Canadian

experience requirement was used to discriminate against non-whites in general and South Asians in particular.(1)

Moreover a recent study that is being carried out at OISE by Jaya Sen on "The Price of Canadian Experience" has also arrived at the same conclusion. The analytical arguments presented there by the author of this report are reproduced below.(1) The Ontario Human Rights Commission's study concentrates mainly on clerical and managerial staff. Hence to avoid duplication we have dealt with technical staff. However, the term technical staff includes accountants and managerial staff too.

In recent years, technology has permeated the economy at all levels simultaneously and has affected production, distribution, business management and government administration. It is therefore recognized that the labour force employed at any level should have some degree of knowledge about the techniques employed in the economy. It is also assumed that the greater will be the increase in his productivity and therefore in output.

Skill is of course a crucial factor in the employment of the labour force. As technology dominates all levels of economic activity, workers with technology oriented skills are more likely to get employment than others. In Canada, there is a high concentration of technology in the economy. Canadian employers, therefore, place great emphasis on the technology-oriented skills of their employees.

1)Report on "Job advertising and Canadian Experience" by the Toronto and Area Unit of Project 122 of the Province of Ontario's Experience 76 Summer Employment Program for Students.

2)The author has contributed a chapter to this study on "Canadian Experience and Labour Market Behaviour".

Such skills are acquired through education or through experience or both. In almost all cases, South Asian Canadians are either highly qualified or have long experience or both.

However, there is an underlying assumption in Canada that immigrants from the Third World countries are deficient in both qualifications and experience. Hence, employers insist on Canadian experience which means the acquisition of experience or educational qualifications in Canada.

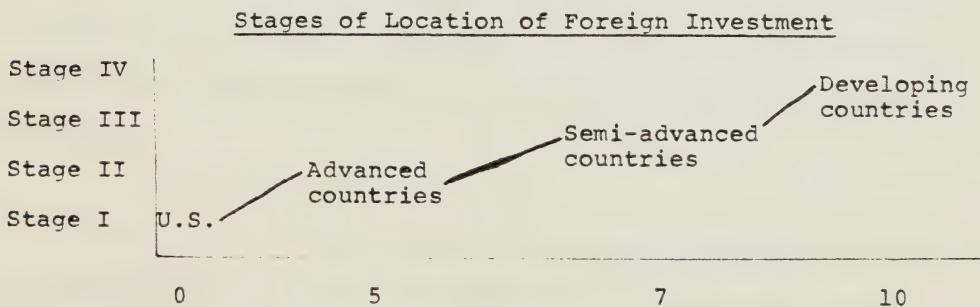
Let us examine the above assumption. Most of the economic activities in the Third World countries are based on knowledge diffused from industrialized countries. Establishment of educational institutions, course structures, texts books, etc. are all based on this diffused knowledge. International trade and international investment have a profound influence on educational, commercial and industrial activities in these countries. A great deal of manufacturing activity in these countries is carried out by foreign firms, through wholly owned subsidiaries, joint ventures or licence agreements with attendant transfers of technical know-how and management techniques.

During the last 25 years, the U.S. has developed a dominant position in world science and in the application of science and technology to production. The U.S. expenditure on Research & Development is proportionately greater than in any other advanced country. This has enabled the U.S. to acquire a leading position in innovative activities. Innovations in products and production processes create corresponding innovations in management techniques and in distribution. For instance, innovations in computers have created a series of innovations in management techniques both in the public and private sectors.

The industrialized countries of Europe and the Asian industrial giant, Japan, have also contributed to innovations in technology and management.

All these countries and particularly so the United States have diffused these innovations to other countries including Canada as well as the Third World countries. Hence, Canada, to a large extent, has absorbed American technology and know-how. The Third World countries have done the same. What we therefore have in the Canadian labour market is that on the one hand, we have employers looking for employees with experience (if they are looking for experience) of American technology and know-how. On the other hand, we have workers from Third World countries who meet these requirements. Yet these workers are not employed.

One explanation could be the existence of a time-lag. This is shown in the following diagram.



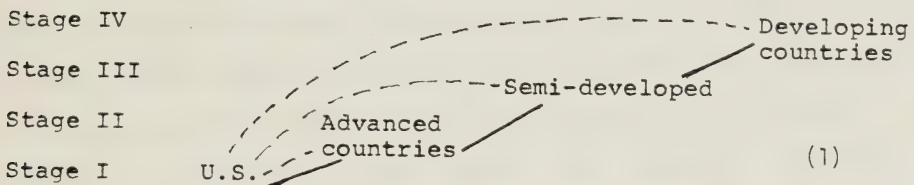
Years from the date of original innovation to the year of investment

Source: Bhausaheb Ubale, The Role of the Electronics Industry in Economic Development, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Bradford, England, 1975.

It can be seen from the diagram that an innovation reaches advanced countries such as Canada five years earlier than it reaches the Third World countries. Thus, there is a technology

gap of about 5 years between Canada and the Third World countries.

This analysis, however, involves an over-simplification of the facts. In recent years, the technology gap has narrowed considerably in all industries. And in certain industries, a new trend has emerged. This is shown in the following diagram.



The above diagram indicates the new approach that is now adopted to international investment. In certain industries such as electronics, plastics, and many others, there is a tendency among the multinational companies to move capital and technology to the Third World countries soon after the prototype stage in order to remain competitive in domestic and overseas markets. Hence, there is simultaneous diffusion of technology to Canada and to Third World countries. As a result, the time-lag has been reduced considerably and may in some cases even be reversed.

The time-lag factor also raises the question as to how relevant the technology gap is for the employment situation as a whole.

At any given time, there exists a series of technologies of different vintages employed in the economy even within a single industry. For instance, in the main business areas of Downtown Toronto, some companies use the latest techniques of computerised accounting. However, at the same time and within the same area, there are hundreds of establishments which still

1) The dotted line shows simultaneous diffusion of technology. /....19

maintain their accounts manually. In between these two extremes, there are a large number of companies which use different accounting machines. Thus, we not only have a technology gap internationally, but also intra-nationally and even intra-city. This is true for Canada and also for the Third World countries. This technology gap is also reflected in labour skills.

Under these circumstances, the Canadian experience requirement for jobs becomes meaningless and does not enter into the real productivity matrix. There are a large number of immigrant workers in the Canadian labour market with different technology oriented skills. Hence, it is quite possible for Canadian employers to match their job requirements among these immigrants by specifying their technological skill requirements instead of talking of Canadian experience.

Very often Canadian employers use non-economic reasons for imposing Canadian experience constraints such as understanding of codes, standards, regulations, laws, communication skills, office procedures, etc. especially for employment of bookkeepers, clerks, secretaries and accountants. In these occupations it is possible that the procedure in Canada is different from that used in some other countries. However, these differences also exist within Canada and even within individual industries.

In fact, when any employee moves from one job to another, there is always a period of re-adjustment in which he learns codes, procedures, regulations etc. and employers do provide initial training to new employees. South Asian Canadians would learn codes, regulations, procedures, etc. in a new job as easily as anyone else. There is clearly no justification for having any requirement for Canadian experience.

On the contrary, if the Canadian experience constraint is relaxed, the employer would find it profitable to employ immigrant labour and to provide it with initial training. Investment in such training is profitable because it increases the quality of the labour force. For private firms there are two sources of returns from investment in training: a) Training increases the marginal product of labour and the firm may be able to appropriate some or all of the increase, b) When the quality of the labour force that is operating capital equipment rises, the marginal product of capital rises yielding higher profits. (1) In turn, higher profits would lead to higher savings, investment, employment and income.

One can also try to explain that the effects of the employment of immigrants on the productivity of firms follows a bell-shaped or normal distribution curve. Initially, the rate of productivity growth is slow, then it accelerates for sometime and then again it slows down. This is because the new employee has to become aware of the working process, has to evaluate it and use it on a trial basis. However, as time passes, initial difficulties are overcome and the employee contributes more to the firm's output. Once he works there for a number of years, his productivity tends to fall slightly again.

What is true about immigrant labour in this connection is likely to be equally true about Canadian citizens. However, the feeling of uncertainty inherent in immigrant labour, forces the immigrant worker to work harder than his native counterpart. As a result, the overall contribution of an immigrant worker to productivity is higher than that of the Canadian citizen. The increase in productivity leads to increase in

employment and through the multiplier effect would increase employment and income further.

The imposition of the Canadian experience constraint clearly restricts the growth of productivity. Its relaxation would contribute to productivity and thus in turn to the growth of the economy. Viewed from this angle, the Canadian experience constraint appears to be a social phenomenon which is counter-productive.

The term, Canadian experience also implies knowledge of Canadian practices, environment, etc. and it is assumed that this knowledge is essential for taking policy decisions. To test the validity of this argument we examined a very specialized sector of the Canadian labour market - the academic sector. The labour force in this market consists of both Canadian citizens and immigrants.

The Economics Department of most Canadian universities run courses on Canadian studies and also on Development studies (i.e. studies on the third world). It is rare to find an immigrant from Third World countries being employed to teach Canadian studies though he may be living here or studying here for a number of years. It is argued that not being born in Canada he may not be able to understand the feelings, aspirations and problems of Canadian society in the same manner as the Canadian born does. If one accepts this principle, then it should be applied in the area of development studies also. On the contrary, the majority of people who teach development economics are persons who are Canadian born and whose knowledge about problems of Third World countries is marginal when compared with immigrants from those areas who

List of Licenced Occupations in Ontario

Definition: Occupational Licensing is defined as the compulsory demonstration of possessing certain education, training, experience, residence, citizenship and/or other qualifications to the satisfaction of a provincial, municipal, union authority or a professional association, before being able to practise a particular occupation.

Professions

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Architects | 11) Podiatrists |
| 2) Dentists | 12) Professional Engineers |
| 3) Embalmers | 13) Psychologists |
| 4) Lawyers | 14) Public Accountants |
| 5) Medical and Dental Technicians | 15) Registered Dieticians |
| 6) Optometrists | 16) Registered Nurses |
| 7) Osteopaths and Chiropractors | 17) Surveyors |
| 8) Pharmacists | 18) Teachers |
| 9) Physicians and Surgeons | 19) Therapists |
| 10) Physiotherapists | 20) Veterinarians |

Trades

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Air Conditioning and Refrigeration Mechanics | 12) Motorcycle Mechanics |
| 2) Alignment and Brakes Mechanics | 13) Plumbers |
| 3) Auto Body Repairers | 14) Provisional Stationary Engineers |
| 4) Barbers | 15) Refrigeration Operators |
| 5) Compressor Engineers | 16) Sheet-Metal Workers |
| 6) Electricians | 17) Stationary Engineers |
| 7) Fuel and Electrical System Mechanics | 18) Steam Fitters |
| 8) Hairdressers | 19) Transmission Mechanics |
| 9) Hoisting Engineers | 20) Truck-Trailer Repairers |
| 10) Hoisting Engineers (Steam) | 21) Watch Repairers |
| 11) Motor Vehicle Mechanics | 22) Welders |

Source: "The Recognition of Immigrants' Qualifications in Selected Professions and Trades' Entrance Requirements in Ontario." Report No. 2.
Department of Manpower and Immigration.

have specialized in development studies.

If the principle applied to Canadian studies has any validity, then the majority who teach development studies should be from Third World Countries. This not being the case it clearly implies that the concept of Canadian experience has a discriminatory bias against people from Third World countries.

c Other factors

Apart from education and lack of Canadian experience, South Asian Canadian job seekers had other interesting experiences.

A candidate with a Master's degree from the University of Illinois, U.S., said that when he spoke with a prospective employer with an American accent he was called for an interview. But when he appeared for the interview in person, the attitude of the employer changed dramatically.(1)

Similar was the case with regard to names. Some South Asian Canadians especially Christians usually have names and or surnames similar to those of Anglo-Saxonx. When they applied for jobs, the initial response to their applications appeared positive. However, when they were called for interviews, their true identities were disclosed and subsequently the interviewers changed their minds about hiring them.(2)

d Special problems of professionals and tradesmen

The professionals and tradesmen also encounter serious problems in carrying on their vocations.

(1) India Canada Association

(2) India Canada Association

In Canada, certain professions and trades operate under licensing legislation and union practices. A partial list of such professions and trades is provided in the following page. Without professional membership or a trade licence, one cannot practice the profession or occupation. These restrictions inhibit the utilization of the skills of South Asian Canadians in the immigrant labour force. In addition, licensing legislation and union practices are geared almost exclusively towards the recognition of the qualifications of those who acquired their occupational status through the "Canadian type" of formal education or apprenticeship. As a result South Asian immigrants find it extremely difficult to gain entry into certain professions or trades.

The need to provide relief from these difficulties has been recognized by some countries. For example in 1952 Australia amended its Tradesmen's Rights Regulations Act 1946 to provide for the granting of recognition as a tradesman to a migrant who was qualified as a tradesman in a country other than Australia, by training and employment in accordance with the Laws and customs of that country. There is no evidence to suggest that similar recognition is provided for in Canada.

At one stage, Ontario did adopt certain measures designed to facilitate the entry of immigrants into professions and the licensed trades. The issuing of temporary certificates of qualification by the Ontario Department of Labour to immigrant tradesman with some documentary evidence of their trade qualifications was an important step forward.

However, these measures did not last very long. The Ontario

List of Licenced Occupations in Ontario

Definition: Occupational Licensing is defined as the compulsory demonstration of possessing certain education, training, experience, residence, citizenship and/or other qualifications to the satisfaction of a provincial, municipal, union authority or a professional association, before being able to practise a particular occupation.

Professions

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Architects | 11) Podiatrists |
| 2) Dentists | 12) Professional Engineers |
| 3) Embalmers | 13) Psychologists |
| 4) Lawyers | 14) Public Accountants |
| 5) Medical and Dental Technicians | 15) Registered Dieticians |
| 6) Optometrists | 16) Registered Nurses |
| 7) Osteopaths and Chiropractors | 17) Surveyors |
| 8) Pharmacists | 18) Teachers |
| 9) Physicians and Surgeons | 19) Therapists |
| 10) Physiotherapists | 20) Veterinarians |

Trades

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Air Conditioning and Refrigeration Mechanics | 12) Motorcycle Mechanics |
| 2) Alignment and Brakes Mechanics | 13) Plumbers |
| 3) Auto Body Repairers | 14) Provisional Stationary Engineers |
| 4) Barbers | 15) Refrigeration Operators |
| 5) Compressor Engineers | 16) Sheet-Metal Workers |
| 6) Electricians | 17) Stationary Engineers |
| 7) Fuel and Electrical System Mechanics | 18) Steam Fitters |
| 8) Hairdressers | 19) Transmission Mechanics |
| 9) Hoisting Engineers | 20) Truck-Trailer Repairers |
| 10) Hoisting Engineers (Steam) | 21) Watch Repairers |
| 11) Motor Vehicle Mechanics | 22) Welders |

Source: "The Recognition of Immigrants' Qualifications in Selected Professions and Trades' Entrance Requirements in Ontario." Report No. 2.
Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Department of labour has now changed the procedures governing the issuance of temporary certificates of qualification. The immigrant must undergo a practical trade test before a temporary certificate is issued.

In the area of the professions, the professional bodies by and large do require immigrants to undergo professional examination before a membership is given. The nature of the test varies from association to association and is based on an assessment of the foreign academic qualifications of the person concerned.

In order to prepare for professional or trade examinations, immigrants need to have some training facilities available to them. In many cases, such facilities are not available. This is especially true in the case of the medical profession. Within the medical profession, dentistry suffers special hardship. The professional examination in Dentistry is divided into two parts - theory and practical. For the practical examination, the examinee is required to perform certain tests on patients. There are, however, no existing facilities for practice before giving the test. This results in a high proportion of failures.

4.7. Employment in the Public Sector

So far we have analyzed discrimination in the private sector, let us now examine the public sector.

a Federal government

It is unfortunate but true that the federal government itself adopts discriminatory practices in employment on the basis of citizenship. As a matter of fact, the federal government must take the lead in upholding the principles of Human Rights both

visas in the first place.

Moreover, if they are forced to take up menial jobs as an economic necessity until they become Canadian citizens, then they are likely to be denied jobs in the Government on the ground of loss of professional competence. Thus, on both accounts, the Government's action is harmful to them.

With the Federal Government setting this discriminatory tone, it is naive to think that others will be less discriminatory.

b Provincial government

There is no citizenship restrictions for employment in the Provincial Government. However, some maintain that like the private sector, the provincial Government sometimes does insist on provincial experience.

South Asian Canadians have been able to get employment in the provincial Government, below the director's levels but their population is small.

The strongest complaint from the community related to the subtle form of discrimination in employment in policy and decision making areas i.e. above the director's level. According to a recent survey by the Civil Liberties Association all but three of the top 235 positions were held by whites. That is only 1.3 per cent of the total whereas according to the Ontario Human Rights Commission non-whites comprise 6 to 7 per cent of the province's population. Out of these three non-whites, there is no South Asian Canadian. Most surprising is the fact that the Ontario Human Rights Commission does not have a South Asian

member.

It is rather ironic that an institution charged with maintaining racial equality should itself reflect such discrimination against South Asian Canadians(1).

Moreover, there is no South Asian Canadian member on the Public Service Commission or on other Government sponsored bodies. There is no South Asian Canadian judge, no Crown Attorney nor even a J.P. though there are a number of well-qualified people available among the South Asian Canadian community.

c Metro council and other bodies

What is true with the Provincial Government is equally true with Metro Council. There is also no South Asian Canadian member on the Police Commission or on TTC. There is also no South Asian Canadian senior officer in city hall.

d Universities

The education sector appears to be following the Federal Government's lead. Last year, Ontario's Minister of Colleges and Universities directed the universities of the province to hire Canadians only. However, the Minister, deliberately or inadvertantly, did not state whether or not the term Canadian included landed immigrants too. If it does, then this directive was unnecessary, because under existing immigration laws foreigners cannot get jobs in Canada, if Canadians or landed immigrants are available.

Thus, by implication his term includes Canadian citizens only. This is clearly reflected in the Ontario Universities' pattern

1) Canadian Council for Racial Harmony.

of academic appointments for 1976-77. Out of 791 new appointments, 551 were Canadians, 110 landed immigrants and 130 foreigners. Out of 110 landed immigrant teachers, 100 were previously employed in various universities in Canada, so in their cases it was a case of mere transfer and not of addition. Thus, in fact, universities appointed 10 new landed immigrants only. This included people from the U.S., the U.K. and other European and Third World countries. As against this, 130 foreign teachers were appointed, mostly from the U.S. and Europe. This demonstrates the universities' discriminatory practices against landed immigrants.

It has been said that the Minister's statement was directed against American Professors. Yet the main casualties are non-white professionals. If Americans cannot find jobs in the education sector, they are easily absorbed in the private sector. After all, there still exists a strong kith and kin relationship between Canadians and Americans. Besides, Americans can cross the border and return to the States with minimum dislocation to their lives. In the case of non-whites, this policy produces crippling effects.

There is also a policy contradiction here. On the one hand the province of Ontario administers the Human Rights Code, and on the other hand, a Minister of the same province advocates discriminatory practices on the basis of national origin.

There is an added dimension to the Minister's statement. It creates a psychological barrier against a university department wishing to hire a landed immigrant. For example, when an interviewer is confronted with two reasonable competent applicants (one Canadian and another landed immigrant) the interviewer has in the back of his mind the Minister's statement: There is,

therefore, a natural bias toward hiring the Canadian citizen irrespective of the relative merits of the two candidates.

However, it would be wrong for a South Asian Canadian to assume that Canadian Citizenship would carry any benefit for him in terms of employment in any university department, if it already has another South Asian Canadian on the staff. As the matter stands today, it is quite acceptable to have 10 staff members of European origin out of a total of 14 in the department. But it will be unthinkable to have 10 staff members of South Asian or non-white origin out of 14 in the same department, even if all are Canadian citizens. Ultimately, it is thus the colour of one's skin and not citizenship that decides the number of people to be appointed. As one professor put it, "whether or not to appoint a South Asian Canadian has become a political decision and not academic. Political decisions are translated into academic decisions."

To understand the subtleness with which discrimination is practiced in the university sector, one needs to obtain inside information. This was only possible when an undertaking was given that no names would be disclosed. Disclosures of names will have adverse consequences on the careers of informants. However, the inability to disclose names should not cause even a shadow of doubt to fall on the integrity of informants or of the author of this report. In all cases, information was supplied by teaching staff presently employed in the university sector. I reproduce below part of the discussion.

Professor A - "I will describe to you how they discriminate against South Asian Canadians. When our department chairman

receives C.V. he separates them into two categories - Canadian citizens and non-citizens. Then he look into the Canadian citizen category and if the applicant is a South Asian Canadian, he keeps that application aside."

Professor B - "We had an interesting case in our Department of Management: We had advertised for a teaching position and after procession all applications we could not find suitable candidates except for two South Asian Canadian members. The Department then decided not to hire South Asian Canadians."

Professor C - "South Asians have a tough time in getting into a teaching position. If the university has a power, it will try to get rid of me and may like me, let alone appointing a new one."

Professor D - "A South Asian Canadian Ph.D. student who recently completed his Ph.D. from one of the Ontario universities was told by his supervisor in confidence not to apply in his department because, according to that supervisor, the department has an unwritten law not to hire a South Asian Canadian."

Mr. E - a lecturer in community college, - "Last year we selected two candidates after the 1st interview. One was a South Asian Canadian and the other was a Canadian. The Asian was better qualified. At the final interview, it was argued that we ought to give a chance to the Canadian citizen. Accordingly the Canadian citizen was selected."

What is happening in the university sector is equally true at the secondary school level.

It must be pointed out, however, that the present trend of discrimination against South Asian Canadians does not mean that South Asian Canadians have not been appointed recently in the educational sector. However, these appointments are very few. It has become increasingly difficult for a South Asian Canadian to get a job in the university department if there is already a South Asian Canadian member on the staff. Ontario Human Rights Commission's case against Lakehead university provides testimony for this.

4.8. Symbolic Appointments

This leads to another problem area of concern. It was very strongly argued by a certain section of the South Asian Canadian community, that employers, both in the private sector and in the public sector, hide their discriminatory practices by making token appointments of South Asian Canadians or non-whites in their organizations. This provides them with a shield against public attack on the grounds of discrimination. Such a situation produces three effects: 1) It allows the management to practice discrimination in employment, 2) It frustrates the efforts of society and the government to stamp out discrimination, 3) It creates a rift within the non-white community, in the sense that non-white employees in fact become active spokesmen for the management and argue that there is no discrimination.

This is a very acute problem in the South Asian Canadian community. There are a certain number of South Asian Canadians in Canada, who have been placed in good positions. Some of those belonging to this group argue that there is no discrimination in Canada, since if there had been such discrimination they

would not been able to attain their present positions. These people maintain that the people who shout about discrimination do so because they are unable to get jobs themselves, that in other words they attribute their own failures to discrimination.

As against this there is a strong body of opinion which argues that those who are gainfully employed are doing a disservice to the community by maintaining that there is no discrimination in employment. This group further argues that most of those who found proper jobs came to Canada into the 60s when there was a shortage of skilled manpower. In a situation like that, there was no question of discrimination. The term discrimination itself denotes the preference of one over others. When there was an overall shortage, there was no basis for discrimination. Once they were employed in their respective fields, they got opportunities to show their merits and they were able to rise to higher positions. In other words, once you take off, the flying is smooth. The problems are at the take off stage. It is these which keep a number of competent people on the ground. Such take-off problems did not exist in the 60s, but they do exist today.

This group also maintains that there is a tendency among employers to try to get a person of European origins as far as practicable. If they can't get such a person, they turn to South Asian Canadians and others. Hence, even if some South Asian Canadians have been able to get jobs recently, this has been because the employers were unable to get Canadian/Americans or Europeans. (1)

(1) South Asian for Equality.

It was acknowledged that not all employers behave in this manner, but it was felt that the proportion of those who do not discriminate is very small.

A majority of South Asian Canadians with whom the subject was discussed supported the rationale of the latter group. The Black Report published in Canada, the P.E.P. report in England and a number of reports published in the U.S. have clearly demonstrated the existence of racial discrimination in employment.

The large number of unemployed and underemployed South Asian Canadians with University degrees bears witness to this fact.

Our discussion so far indicates that South Asian Canadians are discriminated against in the field of employment. The logical conclusion that should follow from this is that most South Asian Canadians are unemployed and live on state benefits or welfare.

However, empirical evidence is to the contrary. One hardly comes across a South Asian Canadian who is receiving welfare benefits. Both by conviction and by temperament, they consider it humiliating to live on money which they have not earned. They, therefore, take up some kind of job to survive.

This situation creates further complications in the sense that although they are unemployed in terms of their skills, they do not appear in Statistics Canada unemployment figures because they are not registered as unemployed and are in fact working in some job much lower than that for which they are qualified.

It needs to be mentioned here that people employed at clerical or unskilled levels encounter a different type of discrimination. Their problems are in the field of training and promotion to which we now turn our attention.

4.9. Discrimination on the Job

People employed at lower levels complain more about racial prejudice on the job than professionals. Their complaints in very many cases were against supervisors and not against the management as such. The racial prejudices of the supervisors are reflected in the unfair treatment offered to South Asian Canadians and other non-whites as compared with whites.

Firstly, South Asian Canadians and other non-whites are not given proper job training. As a result, the employee is bound to commit mistakes. These mistakes are then pointed out by the superiors to the section heads or others or become the subject of gossip. This damages the image not only of a particular South Asian Canadian but of South Asian Canadians as a whole.

Secondly, it was said that relatively hard work or more work is given to South Asian Canadians or other non-whites than to their white counterparts.

Thirdly, the management relies heavily on the supervisor, as a result of which he or she enjoys a great deal of power. Complaints against a supervisor frequently result in the dismissal of the complainant. In fear that this might happen, most South Asians and other non-whites suffer silently and undergo humiliation and hardship.

4.10. Conclusion

The phenomenon of discrimination appears to be very active in employment, but cannot be pinpointed in precise statistical terms. The discrimination is very real to the sufferer but to the casual outside observer it may not be seen so clearly. If the proper care is not taken in understanding the complex nature of this phenomenon, there is a danger that one may fail to arrive at the right conclusions and this impede the adoption of the correct policy decisions.

To understand this phenomenon of discrimination in employment one needs to go beyond the boundaries of statistics into economic conditions, social attitudes and psychological behaviour. It is for this reason that we decided to present descriptive evidence and supporting analysis. Our analysis concerning the demand for Canadian experience indicates that it is a discriminatory, social phenomenon, which results in keeping certain social groups out of labour market or denies them fair conditions of competition.

The discrimination practised by the Federal Government on the basis of citizenship produces a similar result. One would have expected of a modern progressive state that it would not deny the means of livelihood to immigrants once they are accepted in the country. Immigrants have by definition uprooted themselves from their own countries and need special initial assistance from the state until they can establish strong roots in Canadian soil.

The provincial Government behaviour in the employment field is not clear either. In spite of the fact that there are hundreds

of well-qualified and capable South Asian Canadians who have had wide experience of the working of democratic institutions, not a single individual has been appointed in a high position in provincial institutions or government departments.

The most alarming aspect of discrimination in employment that emerged from this investigation is the behaviour of the university sector. The universities, by the nature of their functions, are places of higher learning and were expected to uphold and nourish the principle of universal brotherhood. The academic acknowledgement of the applicant's qualifications should be the only criterion for his/her selection and not the colour of his skin or his nationality.

The private sector discriminates against South Asian Canadians by stating that they are too qualified for certain jobs. When they meet educational criterion, they are then told that they lack Canadian experience.

To sum up, the experience of South Asian Canadians concerning employment both in the private sector and in the public sector indicates that this group suffers relatively greater hardship and faces greater obstacles in securing proper employment than that their white counterparts. The labour market appears to have been concerned with productivity-irrelevant characteristics of workers such as race, citizenship, etc. As a result, South Asian Canadians and other non-white groups have to face a strong racial disadvantage in the Canadian labour market.

PART II

CHAPTER V

CAUSES OF RACIAL VIOLENCE AND DISCRIMINATION

5.1. Introduction

In the preceeding chapter, we have examined the South Asian Canadian Community's experience with racial violence. Evidence of hostility against them is everywhere and it seems to cut across class and income barriers. The higher up the social scale one travels, the more subtle and veiled is the message.

Moreover, in view of the South Asian Canadian community's experience as outlined in the previous three chapters, discussion of whether or not racism exists in Canadian society, would be academic. It may be possible to dispute the extent of racial violence or discrimination. A different methodology or set of cases may show greater or lesser violence and discrimination. Nevertheless, the fact remains that South Asian Canadians face racial violence and discrimination.

It is important to remind ourselves that the main emphasis of this report is not so much on proving the existence of racism, but rather on indentifying its causes and suggesting some policy measures to deal with it. We now, therefore, turn our attention in that direction.

South Asian Canadians are non-white immigrants to Canada and as such they share common problems with other non-white immigrants.



In addition they face some problems on their own, being South Asians. It, therefore, appears logical to analyse the causes of racism within this framework.

Racial discrimination and violence are not the result of a single cause, but of a combination of various causes. Also different combinations of causes may produce different results. The causes are common to both violence and discrimination. Moreover, they are general as well as specific. They are concerned with economic conditions attitudes and intentions. They also arise from misconceptions, myths and misunderstandings. It therefore, becomes imperative for policy makers to undertake a massive mental cleaning operation about these myths, misconceptions and interrelations or combinations of various causes, before making any attempt to evolve policies to deal with them.

It must be pointed out at the outset that non-white immigrants face more problems than white immigrants. We therefore, start this chapter, by giving a brief explanation of why the problems of non-white immigrants need special consideration.

This is followed by discussion on the causes of the racial violence and discrimination that South Asian Canadians share in common with other non-white immigrants.

In the subsequent section, we have examined specific reasons for the existing hostility against South Asian Canadians. This is followed by a concluding section.

5.2. Why non-white immigrants need special consideration

There is a tendency on the part of both policy makers and the public at large to underestimate the difficulties of non-white immigrants by equating them with those of white immigrants. When people move from the place of their origin to another land, they do sometimes encounter hostility from those already settled there. This hostility comes (a) from the natives of the land

and (b) from those members of the immigrant communities themselves, who have settled there previously and who wish to jealously guard their own positions from possible competition from their fellow countrymen. This pressure is felt by all immigrants irrespective of the colour of their skins.

However, with the passage of time, the white immigrant community gets fully integrated with the rest of the native society and in many cases provides leadership to the country. For example, in the case of the U.S. most of the political, business and social leaders are of European origin. Unfortunately, non-white immigrants have not been able to attain prominence on the scale and in the manner that has been attained by their white counterparts. In their cases, the colour of their skins works as an obstacle in using their potential talents. Hence it is very important that people should distinguish the problems of non-white immigrants from those of white immigrants both for analysis and for policy purposes.

5.3. General causes of the racism that South Asian share with other non-white immigrants

a Failure to create a favourable social climate

The first and foremost cause of the current racial tension is the failure on the part of the state to create a social climate for the absorption of non-white immigrants into the mainstream of Canadian life.(1)

The importance of immigrants for Canadian economic development needs no elaborate discussion. In fact, the White Paper on Immigration (1) referred to Canada as "an underpopulated country by most standards of measurement" and suggested that "without a substantial continuing flow of immigrants it is doubtful that

1) Foot note - The term absorption does not refer to the melting pot theory but to the acceptance of immigrants by native born Canadians and the use of their skills for the socio-economic development of Canada.

1) Department of Manpower & Immigration "Canadian Immigration Policy" White Paper on Immigration Policy (1966)

we could sustain the high rate of economic growth and the associated cultural development which are essential to the maintenance and development of our national identity." The recently published Green Paper on Immigration has also lent support to this position.(2) Among its principal concerns are: the slowing rate of growth of Canada's population as a result of declining fertility rates; the consequent increase in the importance of immigration to Canada's population growth.

Under these circumstances one would have thought that the policy makers would create a social climate conducive to the absorption of foreign elements into the mainstream of Canadian life. On the one hand this would involve the creation of adequate services to educate native-born Canadians about the (1) desirability of immigrants, (2) their contribution to Canada, (3) their socio-cultural background, (4) their adjustment problems. On the other hand, it would involve the creation of other services to help the immigrants themselves and thus facilitate their absorption.

Regretably, the state has failed to create such a social climate in favour of immigrants. This failure has resulted in the creation of myths, misconceptions and misunderstandings about immigrants and finally in racial violence.

This failure appears to result from uncoordinated efforts among the three levels of governments in Canada, federal, provincial and municipal. The Federal Government, which is responsible for immigration, brings the immigrants into Canada and just drops them here. The Provincial Government does not take much interest in this field, because immigration is a federal responsibility. The whole burden, therefore, falls on the municipal governments in terms of providing housing, education, social services, police

2) Dept. of Manpower & Immigration "report" on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study (1975) /....5

protection etc. The municipal governments do not have adequate resources to provide these services. As a result, the native born Canadian finds that he has to compete with the immigrant to get these services. This creates conflicts. Being visible, one group of immigrants seeking those services, the South Asian Canadians become the target of attacks.

b Attitude of old immigrant

The attitudes of old immigrants toward new immigrants also produces social tension. There is an argument advanced by some sections of society against non-white immigrants. This section always resorts to giving examples of the previous generation of immigrants and stories of their hardships. They argue that they or their parents suffered great hardships and, therefore, new immigrants **must** also go through this process.

Moreover, a unique system of supplying the huge demand for labour generated by a rapidly expanding and industrialising economy had taken shape. The lowest rungs of the economic ladder were occupied by successive waves of immigrants. As newcomers arrived, they were given a place at the bottom, while old immigrants and their children moved up the ladder. The reaction of the natives is almost always hostile towards new immigrants and sometimes vicious in the extreme. This thinking has become an established pattern.

This is very wrong attitude to take. It could easily be termed as a proof of negative thinking of a primitive nature and does not suit a modern and progressive nation. One would have thought that having gone through great hardships, the old generation of immigrants would be more sympathetic towards new immigrants and would show **them** greater understanding of their difficulties.

For example, when the present generation suffers, it ensures that their children do not suffer the same hardship. It, therefore, tries to solve these problems in order to create a better life for the next generation. Similarly one expects from the old immigrants the creation of a proper policy framework which would minimize the hardship of new immigrants. This is a more desirable way of tackling the problems of new immigrants rather than throwing mud at them.

c Immigrants and unemployment

Very often, it was mentioned that the present racial tension emanates from the current economic difficulties existing in Canada. It is assumed against this background that immigrants create unemployment among native born Canadians. The latter perceive immigrants as a threat to their job security. This in turn creates racial tension.

The recent study by the Economic Council of Canada has tried to dispel this notion. According to it "no definitive studies have been done on the longer term relationship between immigration, labour force growth, and unemployment. Even international comparisons are none too helpful. Since the Second World War and until recently, for instance, several of the main countries of Western Europe, have had a high rate of economic growth and very low unemployment, but they have also relied heavily on immigrant workers. Japan similarly, had limited immigration and labour force growth combined with high economic growth, but much of the accelerating prosperity result from the unique restructuring and modernizing of her economy. On the other hand, Israel and Australia had high immigration, high economic growth, and very little unemployment.

The capacity of a nation to absorb and use immigrant labour depends on its savings and investment patterns, for it is these that determine the growth and locus of new employment opportunities. Canadians traditionally are among the highest savers in the world and, as a nation, continue to attract substantial amounts of job-creating foreign investment. In the shorter run, much depends on the cyclical phase of the economy. In periods of slow employment growth, too rapid immigration may well contribute to some what higher levels of unemployment. On the other hand, in times of accelerated demands, their entry may well help to fill bottlenecks and keep down production costs. But, in the longer run, their expenditures as consumers, savers and tax payers undoubtedly stimulates the demand for housing, food, clothing and other essential goods and services, thereby contributing to the employment of native-born Canadians as well as other incoming immigrants." (1)

d Visible change in the racial make-up

Sociologists say the reasons for the recent wave of tension are relatively straightforward. Canadians are seeing a visible change in the racial make-up of their society. This may be partly true in a particular city but may not be true nationally.

According to statistics quoted by Economic Council of Canada, "the proportion of foreign born of the total population in Canada was 15.3 per cent in 1971 - not significantly different from previous postwar levels despite our declining birth rate and lower than in most periods since the turn of the century. The proportion, for instance of Asian, African and West-Indian Stock in Canada in 1971 was of the order of 2.3 per cent. Assuming that their fertility rates are not significantly different from

1) Economic Council of Canada "Study of Canadian Labour Market 1976"

the Canadian average, their current rates of immigration would raise this proportion to 3.6 percent in 1981 and about 6 per cent in the year 2001, by which time many will have intermarried and seen their children integrated into Canadian society."

As against this, by comparison, in the United States, in 1973, 12.8 per cent of the population was of non-white stock (Negro, Indian, Asian etc.) while 5.1 per cent was of Spanish origin.

e Green Paper on immigration

The recent Green Paper on Immigration which raised the issue of the ethnic mix of immigrants entering Canada, contributed considerably to current racial tension. The Green Paper refers to the "fairly high degree of social tension it not outright friction in modern urban living (in which) newcomers may too easily become the focus of frustrations and antagonism that are no less socially disruptive for being quite out of proportion with the actual size of the immigrant group involved."

In the first place, fears expressed about the proportion of non-white immigrants are unjustified as their proportion was of the order of 2.3 per cent as shown above. In the second place, by raising the irrelevant issue of race in Immigration and Man-power policies, the Green Paper has not only warned us about social tension but in fact has deliberately created it.

The authors of the Green Paper have injected the feeling of racial hatred into Canadian Society. They have done this in a very subtle manner and by taking undue advantage of the fact that the Green Paper by its very nature was a consultative document and as such had wide circulation and was subject to wide public debate.

Having stimulated this racial tension, the same authors can now turn back and tell the society that "we warned you about this tension."

f Historical reasons

Racial prejudice as it exists in the world today is almost exclusively an attitude of whites and had its origins in the needs of European Conquerers from the sixteen century on to rationalize and justify the robbery, enslavement and continued exploitation of their coloured victims all over the globe. (1)

From colonial times, host communities have been systematically and continuously subjected to a barrage of propaganda fostering ideas of white superiority and non-white inferiority.

It was of course, always easy to adduce evidence purporting to prove the white superiority/non-white inferiority thesis. The procedure was first to destroy non-white competitiveness by depriving non-whites of all opportunities to share in the benefit of civilized living and having done this to subject them to competition.

In this connection, Cox argues that "it was not only whites who accepted it, many non-whites were successfully brainwashed into believing in the reality of their own inherent inferiority and this self-depreciation acted as one of the most important bulworks of the racial system." (2)

The racism is not new in Canada. As Macleans magazine puts it "The underlying bigotry in Canadian Society comes as no surprise in the context of Canada's record in dealing with non-Christian - non-European Settlers. In 1887 for example, a mob outside

1) Eric William "Capitalism and Slavery "Chapel Hill, 1944.

2) Oliver C. Cox "Caste, Class and Race" New York, 1948.

Vancouver drove Chinese Coolies from a mining camp over a 25 foot cliff into the Pacific and then proceeded to clear out the city's chinatown. In 1914 a boat-load of Sikhs who arrived in Vancouver planning to become settlers were prevented from landing by a series of regulations barring entry of Asians.

The Immigration rules between 1931 and 1946 prohibited entry to all but white American and Commonwealth citizens; all others - Frenchmen included - native Indians and Metis were treated like third-class citizens." (1)

Twenty years earlier the Government of MacKenzie King did not permit large-scale Asiatic or other coloured immigration. These built-in racial attitudes in immigration policy feed racial elements in Canadian Society.

g Absence of an effective public agency and supporting infrastructure in the field of race relations

At the provincial level, the agency responsible for the administration of social policy in the field of race relations is the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Regretably, this agency has been ineffective in stamping out discrimination and racial violence.

The defect is not so much with the administration of this agency as with the philosophy of underlying its creation. In creating this agency, the policy makers have laid more emphasis on post-discriminatory rather than pre-discriminatory activities. In other words, more emphasis is placed on dealing with discrimination once it has taken place rather than on creating a social climate in which discrimination will not occur. This philosophy is reflected in the allocation of resources to the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

The net result is that the OHRC is unable to cope with the increasing number of complaints of discrimination.

As regards the Human Rights Code itself, heavy reliance is placed in it on the conciliation mechanism. The British experience in this field show that this mechanism does not work effectively in preventing discrimination. In fact it creates mistrust between the minority community and the agency which is supposed to protect their interests. Currently, the Ontario Human Rights Commission is also undergoing a similar experience.

Thus, limited resources and heavy reliance on conciliation have encouraged employers to engage in subtle forms of discrimination.

Besides, the OHRC does not have any official or unofficial supporting organization. For instance, in the U.K., the former Race Relations Board (1) which is the British counterpart of OHRC, derives considerable benefit from the work done by another public agency, the Community Relations Council, and also by private organizations such as the Runnymede Trust and the Institute of Race-Relations which undertake massive policy oriented research work in the field of race relations. Similar net work is lacking in Ontario.

h Double standard in administration of the Human Rights Code

The present Human Rights Code makes it illegal to discriminate against people on the basis of their colour or sex. In the case of women, neither the Government nor Society in general leaves the implementation of the code to the Human Rights Commission alone.

1) Footnote: Race-relation Board and Community Relation Council have recently merged into a single agency called Equal Opportunity Commission. Similarly Race Relation Act has been amended giving the power to the victim to take the matter to the court directly.

Instead, the necessary social climate is being created to facilitate equal treatment for women. For instance, the state, the business community, academics and other leaders have waged a strong campaign for more women to be hired at all levels. Unfortunately, in the area of race relations, the Human Rights Commission is left to act on its own. This anomaly amounts to a double standard in the implementation of the same Act which proposes to ensure equality to women as well as non-whites.

i General apathy toward racial issues

With the exception a very few concerned individuals there appears to be a general tendency among political and other social leaders either to ignore racial violence and discrimination or play down their effects. Politicians, academics, Church leaders, trade union leaders, the media, students, etc, have moral and social responsibilities to eradicate racism from Canadian society. However, for unknown reasons, they are shying away from their public responsibilities.

At the same time, there is a body of organized political opinion that represents hostility towards non-whites in general and South Asians in particular. It expresses this hostility through slogans and propaganda either splashed across walls or expressed in election charters. This prejudice and hostility manifest themselves in discrimination against people in their daily lives, particularly in seeking jobs or doing their work.

It is, therefore, imperative that people active in public life come forward and fight this organized political body in a positive way by pointing out the errors in what it says and by showing that its message is sterile.

As long as public figures remain in hiding or silent, racism in the Canadian Society will continue to grow.

j The role of the media

The news media - both newspapers and T.V. & Radio - are partly responsible for the current racial tension. Not very long ago, the Toronto Star admitted that its article on "Paki", had backfired in the sense that it accelerated the spread of racism rather than arrested it. The media generally perpetuates negative stereotypes, seeks to deny the existence of serious problems in our society, and does not sufficiently exercise its advocacy role in protecting the rights of the minority.

One recognises the fact that newspapers are in the business to earn money. Hence, a certain amount of sensationalism in their news coverage is inevitable. However, newspapers also have a social responsibility towards the society they serve. They must give up the benefit to themselves of selling more copies by printing sensational stories on racial issues for the social benefit that results from not sensationalising racial issues. Years of good work in the field of race relations can be washed out overnight by a single irresponsible headline or report.

5.4. Reasons for hostility against South Asian Canadians

So far we have examined the reason for hostility towards them that South Asian Canadians share with other non-white immigrant groups. In this section, we examine the reason for the special hostility that South Asian Canadians suffer independent of other non-white groups. The reasons for this are mainly two: 1) The West is caught in an inescapable dilemma relating to the Indian image and 2) general behavior of the South Asian Community in the West.

a Dilemma of the Indian image

Over the years, Western historians have projected a wrong image of South Asian presumably to preserve a colonial mentality. This had an indoctrinatory effect on the white population vis-a-vis the South Asian community. However, now the South Asian have become free and the West is confronted with the reality about their quality which is very different from what they had conceived.

An average person in the West finds that South Asian Canadians are highly educated, cultured, sophisticated, enterprising, and sincere people with a very very low crime rate.

He also finds stability in their family lives and sees that their children's academic performance is extremely good.

If he happens to visit the sub-continent, no doubt he sees the evidence of poverty as it is projected through the media, but he soon realises that it is the result of past colonial economic policies. However, contrary to what he has heard about this continent in his own country, he sees some similarities in certain fields in comparison with his own country and in other fields he notices considerable advancement. For instance, he is usually surprised to see that as the West had produced big industrialists such as Ford and Rockefeller, the sub continents have produced their counterparts such as Tata and Birla; just as the west had produced world famous poets such as Wordsworth and Shelley, the sub-continent had produced Rabindra Nath Tagore and Iqbal; just as the west had produced statesmen such as Washington, Churchill, Roosevelt, etc., the sub-continent had produced Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah etc. The list can go on.

Such a person is also astonished to see the mental maturity of these people. For example, during the period of struggle for independence, the British killed thousands of Indians and imprisoned thousands. However, on the dawn of independence, Indians forgot their enmity and appointed the Englishman, Lord Mountbatten, as the first Governor-General of free India. British soldiers who had committed atrocities a few days earlier, were treated with great dignity. To consider your yesterday's enemy as today's friend in a changed situation, or in other words, the overnight transformation from enmity to friendship, requires a very high level of mental maturity.

In this sub-continent the Western observer witnesses the peaceful co-existence of different people in a multi-racial, multicultural and multi-lingual society, both in the urban and in the rural areas.

The Western observer is caught between this reality and the negative image of the sub-continent that has been perpetuated for years. The failure to reconcile these creates uneasiness and discomfort, and finally triggers deep resentment. Subsequently, to justify this resentment, very trivial reasons are put forward such as that South Asian Canadians do not integrate with Western Society, i.e. Canadian Society, in terms of giving up their culture, dress, eating habits, etc.

Interestingly, there is no evidence to suggest either that South Asian Canadians who have become westernised in their habits do not face resentment or that Western settlers in the Indian sub-continent suffer great resentment because they retain Western traditions and habits wherever they go.

b South Asian Canadians seen as competitors

It is also important to point out that most South Asian Canadians do not suffer from language difficulties as immigrants from some European countries do. Also, unlike other immigrant groups, they are often highly qualified. As a result, South Asian Canadians have become a new competitive force in Canadian society. The Anglo-Saxon group find this competition as a challenge to its position. This is one of the major reasons for hostility against South Asian Canadians.

c General behaviour of the South Asian Canadian community

South Asian Canadians in general are not aggressive. They therefore, have not projected their image properly. Instead they have allowed the perpetuation of a negative image. This may be because of the attitude on the part of some members of the South Asian Canadian Community that because they themselves have settled down, this is not their problem.

South Asian Canadians have also not so far created a nucleus of advocates of their interests among native Canadians. For example, in countries like the U.S. and the U.K., a number of ex-diplomats who served in the Indian sub-continent and prominent political and public figures often advocate the cause of the South Asian community in their respective countries. In Canada, there is no such force and no steps have been taken by South Asian Canadians to create one. Thus the South Asian Canadian community is also partly to be blamed for the current racial tension.

5.5. Some specific reasons for racial attacks and discrimination

So far we have discussed some general causes of racial violence and discrimination, these causes are common to both. Moreover, a large proportion of racial hostility emanates from general causes. Hence no attempt was made to distinguish between the causes of violence and those of discrimination.

However for completion of our analysis we briefly discuss below separately some specific causes for racial violence and as well as some specific causes of discrimination against the South Asian Canadian community.

a Specific causes for racial violence

We list below some specific reasons for racial violence.

- 1) The existing law requires the victim of racial attack to provide an independent witness. In most cases, a South Asian Canadian is attacked when he or she is alone. This frustrates the efforts of the South Asian Canadian victim to take legal action and in turn encourages attackers.
- 2) Inaction on the part of the police also encourages racial attacks.
- 3) Lenient sentences imposed by courts in racial attacks also encourage racial violence.
- 4) South Asian Canadians by nature are peace loving and therefore do not get involved in fights. This virtue of theirs has been perceived as their weakness by people who carry out racial attacks.

The absence of a response to racial attacks or slurs encourages further attacks.

5) Often, adults use children to carry out racial attacks or harrassment. There is no legal provision to stop this practice. This legislative weakness induces adults to increase racial harrassment through children.

6) The rate of saving among South Asian Canadians appears to be high. As a result, they are able to purchase a house, a car and other items within a very short span of time. When a native born Canadian sees the visible prosperity of South Asian Canadians against the background of the negative image he has about them, and compares this with his own position, he feels frustrated and angry.

b Specific causes of discrimination in employment

Economists have suggested that there are two types of causes of discrimination - exogenous and endogenous. (1) In the former case, the motivation for discrimination arises from outside the labour market. In the latter case the motivation arises from within the labour market.

In the endogenous type of cause, the discrimination results from the profit maximizing response of employers to uncertainty about the quality of individual workers when the real or subjective quality distribution favours the group which receives preferences.

The Marxist analysis is the other principal endogenous explanation. This analysis also suggests profit maximization as the driving motivation. Racism is viewed as a tactic used by employers to

(1) David H. Swinton "Racial Discrimination. A Labour Force Competition Theory of Discrimination in the Labour Market"

introduce class cleavages within the working class. This tactic is intended to minimize labour cost by weakening the labour bargaining position of labour.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented reasons for racial hostility against South Asian Canadians in Canadian society. We have looked into the general reasons for such hostility that the South Asian Canadian community shares with other non-white immigrant groups.

In examining these reasons, care was taken to look into a number of diverse factors such as sociological, historical, economic, etc.

We have found that the current racial hostility against the South Asian Canadian community seems to be basically a social phenomenon and only to a lesser degree an economic phenomenon. Such hostility results mostly from the social attitudes of native Canadians. The real test of racism takes place in times of difficulties and not in times of prosperity. It is only in times of difficulties that the underlying real feelings of people come to the surface.

Moreover, the combination of historical and social reasons indicates that certain sections of the native Canadian population sees South Asian Canadians as a threat to their dominant position in all walks of Canadian life. As a result, very systematic and subtle attempts are made to create and cultivate racial hatred against the South Asian Canadian community through a multi-diminsional and multi-directional approach. Racial attitudes are rationalized and justified. These attitudes are

prevalent at all levels of government in universities and other educational institutions, in private offices and factories, in shops, in residential areas and on streets. In otherword, racial hostility has permeated Canadian life at all levels.

However, the South Asian Canadian community does not pose itself as and should not be looked upon as a competitive force but rather as a complementary force in Canadian society. With this clear statement of fact we turn our attention to the policies that could be adopted ~~to~~ create harmonious community relations.

CHAPTER VI

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND PUBLIC POLICY: SOME STRATEGIES

6.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapters, we have discussed the concerns and experience of the South Asian Canadian community and also the causes of racial tension. The experience of this community is quite contrary to the Canadian ideals reflected in the Canadian Bill of Rights which affirms that the "Canadian nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the supremacy of God, the dignity and worth of the human person and the position of the family in a society of free men and free institutions."

This implies that all those living in Canada have the right to choose their own lifestyle as long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others. To deny the dignity and worth of the human person by claiming that anyone's chosen lifestyle is inferior amounts to a negation of these principles.

Moreover, if we truly believe in democracy, then our commitment is to a society in which all members are able to develop their potential to the full for the benefit of society and the individual. The starting point for this is full and equal opportunity for every individual in all spheres of life - economic and social as well as political. To deny this opportunity to a minority of those living in Canada amounts to a total rejection of the basic principles of democracy.

Thus it is in order to develop Canadian ideals that there has to be a fundamental change in Canadian race relations.

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the kinds of policies and programs that can be undertaken by society as a whole in the field of race relations.

We begin with what should be the beginning of the policy-making process in any area--the searching out of possible policy-objectives. This is followed by a discussion of the need for a declaration of intent which should demonstrate total commitment to the declared policy objectives.

The fulfilment of policy objectives requires action at all levels. The Government can set the tone and pace and can provide leadership, but this has to be followed by appropriate action by opposition parties, municipal governments, the corporate sector, trade unions, the media, etc. The role that can be played by these different organizations is discussed in the subsequent sections. Finally, an attempt is made to draw some conclusions.

6.2. Policy Objectives

Our main objective is to create a society based on the principles of equality of opportunity and equality of culture, race, sex etc. In other words we wish to create a multi-cultural and multi-racial society.

This implies the existence of social and economic mobility in a variety of directions through the existence of freedom of choice and freedom of action for all members. As it stands today, the vertical as well as the horizontal mobi-

lity of certain sections of Canadian society is narrowly restricted. These sections find themselves faced with a number of obstacles to their free development. This creates frictions and social disorder and hampers the achievement of the country's main objective.

In order to establish a multi-cultural and multi-racial society, it is necessary to recognize these obstacles and to arrange for their removal.. This requires thorough and careful planning and effective implementation.

The South Asian Canadian community is a part of Canadian society. This community is most affected by the current upsurge in racism. The planning process for the building of a multi-cultural multi-racial society should start from a section of society such as South Asian Canadians and other visible minority communities such as the black, far South Asian Canadian and Natives which are immediately affected by racism while taking into consideration the interests of all sections of society.

6.3. Declaration of Intent

In order to attain our objectives, we have to move in two directions simultaneously.

On the one hand, we must create widespread social awareness of the desirability of social justice and equality of opportunity. For this, it is necessary to undertake massive

social education at all levels.

On the other hand, we must undertake legislative and administrative actions to create the framework for bringing about the desired social changes and also to provide the facilities needed to service a multi-cultural and multi-racial society.

It must be pointed out, however, that it is not possible to achieve social justice unless there is a strong political will. This is especially true in the field of race relations. In this field, it is essential to have total public commitment backed by strong policy measures. A big push from politicians at the initial stages is crucial. In this connection, one may use an argument which economists usually use in another context. "Launching a country into self-sustaining growth is a little like getting an airplane off the ground. There is a critical ground speed which must be passed before the craft can become airborne...."(1)

What is true in economics is equally true in race relations. Unless race relations policy is given a big push by public policy makers, it will never leave the ground. It is therefore essential for the three major political parties to make a public declaration of their commitment to the creation of a multi-cultural and multi-racial society and to the complete elimination of all racial discrimination from our

(1) Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, "The Objectives of United States Economic Assistance Programs" (Washington 1957)

society. There is need for them to make Canadian Society accept the fact that it is no more a predominantly Anglo-saxon society. More than 70 cultures make up the Canadian mosaic. Hence it is a multi-cultural society. This must be unmistakable and clearly reflected in the country's social philosophy, in the composition of Government and in every individual and collective act.

Assuming that policy makers make such a commitment to a multicultural society, we proceed to examine the policy measures that can be taken at each level in society. In this connection we cover the same topics as those we covered in considering the concerns of the South Asian Canadian community in Part I of this report. As already pointed out, two types of policy measures--a) social education and b) legislative or administrative action--are considered at each level.

6.4. Policies to be Considered

a Racial violence

(i) General considerations

A certain amount of racial violence (a) is caused by ignorance, (b) arises from the existence of a stereotyped image and occurs at the spur of the moment. With the adoption of a policy of mass social education, we will be able to reduce the level of this kind of racial violence.

This leaves us with racial violence cause deliberately by

certain sections of society as a political act. Social education will be ineffective in this area. Instead, strong legislative action is required. The loopholes in the existing laws encourage this group of people to distribute hate literature and carryout racial attacks through teenagers and others on South Asian Canadians and their property. Appropriate legislative changes must be made to close these loopholes.

Also, the Criminal Justice System must be seen as responding strongly to such situations. Judges provide not only legal but also moral leadership in establishing community standards of ethical behaviour and their decisions are critical in this area. If racial violence is treated in lesser terms than what it is, an act of social, moral and legal abhorance, society runs the risk of encouraging such acts and opens the door to the deterioration of our society's delicate social fabric.

(ii) Police

As we have seen earlier a situation of mutual suspicion and hostility has developed between the police and the South Asian Canadian community and discussions with the black Canadian Community also indicate a similar situation. If relationships are to improve there will need to be a far greater degree of tolerance on both sides and a genuine effort by the police and by leaders of South Asian Canadian community to overcome the existing hostility.

Unfortunately, there are police officers who because of their personal dislike of non-white immigrants are prepared

to misuse and abuse their power and inflict serious injustices on a whole community. In a situation like this, it is the responsibility of the police authorities to ensure that police officers are knowledgeable about and sensitive towards the situation, that they are aware of the attitudes and feelings of the South Asian Canadian and visible minority community and that they are unbiased and fair in dealing with these communities.

It is not our case that all policemen are prejudiced. It is that the police are given insufficient training, support and supervision in these volatile areas of police activity. Recruiting at least some non-white policemen is necessary but will change very little by itself. It is necessary to make sure that proper training in the implications of a multi-cultural society reaches the policemen on the beat. In other words, training of police in community relations must be more thorough and institutionalized as a compulsory part of every police officers training at both the recruit and in service level.

In addition the police should a) explore new approaches to the handling of racial violence, b) recruit more South Asian Canadians and other non-whites at senior levels, and c) ensure that police functions and powers are fully explained and made known to the whole community. Moreover the police authorities should establish liaison with the South Asian Canadian and other visible minority communities. They should invite members of these communities together

with other members of the public to serve on police complaint committees. The present situation for the handling of police complaints is simply not satisfactory as far as the invisible minority community is concerned and leaves the strong impression that justice is not, and does not even appear to be done.

b Educational policy

In servicing and developing a multi-cultural society, the educational sector has a central role to play. At present most of the problems in schools emanate from two main factors: a) teachers are not adequately prepared to understand the different needs of children in a multi-racial classroom and b) children belonging to the established community are not taught about the socio-cultural background of newcomers.

Thus, in order to overcome problems in the schools, policy makers will have to move in two directions simultaneously: one, to reorganize teacher training courses and two to reorganize the curriculum in schools.

As far as teacher training is concerned, it should be recognized fairly soon that an understanding of the multi-cultural nature of our society should feature in teacher training programmes. This would require a thorough reappraisal of the existing training system. It is of course true that reorganisation of training courses will mean that all those involved in teacher training will pass through a period of uncertainty and upheaval. This will place severe strains on teaching training institutions and their staffs. However, it will also present a unique opportunity to those

involved to think again about how teachers can be best prepared for their role in a multi-cultural society.

This opportunity must not be lost at what is a critical time for race relations in Ontario. The students we are training now in teacher training institutes will be teaching fewer and fewer immigrants and more brown or black Canadians born here.

These children will be wanting the same educational and occupational opportunities as their white classmates. If they do not get these opportunities, they will suffer as individuals and society as a whole will suffer from their disillusionment and alienation.

All students of teacher training institutes, wherever they may teach in Canada, will be teaching a multi-cultural and multi-racial society. Hence, they should leave their training colleges with some awareness of what living in such a society means for them as individuals and professionals.

It must be recognized however, that reorganization of teacher training will help only future generations of teachers. The majority of the teachers who teach multi-cultural classrooms at present have received no relevant training in the multi-cultural aspects of society in their initial teacher training. Hence, in-service training programs need to be instituted in schools for all teachers irrespective of whether or not they teach multi-cultural classrooms.

Appropriate training for teachers is crucial to the development of a racially just society. Hence, in-service training needs to be made compulsory.

The second area is curriculum development. The main courses currently taught in schools should include the history literature religions and social studies of Asia and other third world countries. In this connection, great care should be taken in selecting the topics to be included in each subject area. In recent years, the governments in various countries in Asia have appointed a number of commissions/committees' to rewrite school text books with the object of giving a correct picture of their socio-cultural and economic development. The help of these governments should be obtained for curriculum development through their local representatives. In addition, help may be sought from Canada based academic bodies such as the "Canadian Association for South Asian Studies."

Finally, it would be beneficial for a school to develop direct contact with South Asian Canadian and other visible minority groups and seek their assistance in breaking down stereotypes. In this connection, schools may consult their boards of Education or the Ontario Human Rights Commission to identify the various groups with whom they should establish contact for this purpose.

The Boards of Education should establish working relationships with the South Asian Canadian and other non white communities. The experiment currently undertaken by the

the Toronto Board of Education should serve as an example to other Boards in this connection. The Ministry of Education should also establish advisory committees composed of different ethnic groups.

Currently, the Ministry of Education has instituted a 'Third Language Programme' in schools. In its present form, this program is administered outside school hours. Although, there may be sound reasons for doing this, it does create great hardship for students. Apart from his regular courses, a student in the school is already burdened with classes in English as a second language. The addition of a third language with no credit for his performance may be counter productive as far as the student is concerned. The way out would be to treat the third language as credit course, which would be counted for the purpose of his graduation.

The Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Federal Government if so desired should institute a scholarship program to assist students from Third World Countries to pay increased tuition fees. The scholarships should be administered on the basis of the financial circumstances of the student concerned. In other words, the Government should ensure that no student from the Third World country is deprived of educational opportunities for lack of finance.

c Employment

In employment the outcome of racial discrimination is to employ non-whites wastefully. This produces the following

results.

- 1) it destroys available skills and abilities with its attendant loss to the individual and to society as a whole
- 2) it encourages the employer to employ or promote inefficient manpower (in relation to available skills) which results in loss of productivity
- 3) finally the denial of equal opportunity has consequences for the groups so deprived, for the individual firm, and for society as a whole. The groups that are denied equal opportunity may turn to various forms of protest in order to redress their collective grievances. This produces racial tension.

Thus, in the final analysis, nobody benefits from discriminatory practices. It is, therefore, imperative that society as a whole should take corrective measures to eliminate discrimination in employment.

In our empirical investigation in chapter IV, we have seen that the requirement of Canadian experience has been used to discriminate against South Asian Canadians and others. One way to overcome this obstacle is to amend the Human Rights Code to make this form of discrimination (discrimination on the basis of Canadian experience) unlawful.

However, a general clause of this nature in the Code, may not be entirely in the public interest. There may be certain areas where some familiarity with the Canadian environment is desirable. Hence the best strategy would be to incorporate such a general clause in the Code with a provision for exemption of employers who satisfy the Human Rights Commission that Canadian experience is in fact required for particular positions. Such a provision

will prevent employers from making blanket use of the requirement of Canadian experience as an instrument of discrimination.

Legislative policy alone will not solve the problem. It needs to be backed up by measures to overcome the deficiency of Canadian experience--imaginary or real--from which new immigrants are likely to suffer. In this connection, the Canada Manpower Training program can play a central role. At present this program does not take into consideration the real needs of immigrants. The basic need of an immigrant is for Canadian experience that would enable him to get a job. The training offered in community colleges through the current program may not help him to overcome the Canadian experience constraint.

Hence, more emphasis should be placed on industrial training. Such a policy would have two advantages: a) the trainee will be actually working on a job that would enable him to gain Canadian experience and earn a living allowance and b) he will be contributing at the same time to production. Once he comes out of this training program, his chances of getting a suitable job would be considerably enhanced.

As it stands today, the Canadian training program, according to the Economic Council of Canada, represents a very substantial undertaking. In comparison with other countries it ranks second only to that of Sweden. Yet in contrast to several other countries, less than 5 per cent of total Canadian federal adult occupational training

expenditure is directed to training-in-industry. In the U.S. about 80 per cent of federal training expenditures go to programs involving training and work experience in industry(1).

Moreover, this U.S. training program is geared to serve disadvantaged groups. "Manpower training," it has been said, "means (1) making it possible for those who are unemployed or on the fringe of the labour force to become permanent full time workers, (2) giving those who are now employed at low income the training and the opportunity they need to become more productive and successful, and (3) discovering the potential in those people who are now considered unemployable, removing many of the barriers now blocking their way"(2). Application of the American experience to the problems of South Asian Canadians and other non-white immigrants, who suffer from racial disadvantage, would clearly be desirable.

The Province of Ontario, takes considerable interest in providing training/employment to young Canadians. The logic behind this attempt appears to be sound in the sense that the state needs to render some assistance to those who are entering the labour market for the first time. Immigrants to Ontario are also entering the labour market for the first time in Canada. Hence, they stand in equal need of initial state assistance. This leads us to discuss what should be the government's policy to remove discrimination and to achieve full equality of opportunity.

1) Economic council of Canada Eight Annual Review Sept. 1971.
 2) Message of the President to Congress, Aug. 12, 1969.

d Provincial government policies

The Provincial Government has the prime responsibility for the development of social justice and for providing for the suppressed minority the opportunity for self-fulfillment. It must help that minority to gain access to those who have the resources and the power. It must try to reduce the levels of racial discrimination.

The province may achieve this through two types of policy measures - a) legislative action and b) other positive steps.

(i) Legislative policies

The conciliation procedure for settlement of disputes in the existing Human Rights Code has long outlived its usefulness. The experience of other countries also indicates that the conciliation procedure has failed to remove discrimination.

Hence, no useful purpose will be served by hanging onto this procedure as the only procedure available to the complainant. Should the complainant not feel satisfied with the measures taken under the present conciliation procedures available to him he or she must also have available, access to the court system. Therefore, if the complainant is not satisfied with the Commission's actions he can then pursue the matter through the courts if so desired.

Another important question relates to the enforcement of

the Human Rights Code. At present, the Human Rights Commission waits until a member of the public files a complaint about discrimination against him. For a number of personal and practical reasons most people do not file complaints about discrimination. This does not mean that society is free from discrimination. The spirit behind the Human Rights legislation appears to be to remove discrimination from our society. This can only be achieved by aggressiveness and vigor in the implementation of the Code. It is for this reason that power should be given to the Human Rights Commission to both monitor and investigate suspected cases of discrimination on its own initiative. This would require the creation of an inspectorate within the Human Rights Commission which would undertake investigative work in the same manner as is done by other government agencies such as the U.I.C., income tax, customs and excise offices etc.

Politically, such a move may appear unpopular at the initial stages, but this should not deter policy makers. The adoption of tough measures in the field of race relations will indicate the seriousness of policy makers in this connection and stress their determination to establish equality of opportunity. This may itself help to create a positive effect on society as a whole and may bring about a reduction in discrimination.

(ii) Other positive steps

Strengthening of the Human Rights Code is not likely to be very useful without fundamental changes in attitude. In this connection, the Government should provide the

leadership in implementing an equal opportunity policy. The government should be determined to eradicate discrimination and disadvantage as far as the ethnic and social minorities are concerned. It must therefore look to those with influence in industry - both employers and trade unions - to lend their support in this direction. It must encourage companies to define and then to enforce clearly stated equal opportunity policies.

In the case of the South Asian Canadian Community, and certain other visible minority communities, the Government will have to move a step further. At present the image of the South Asian Canadian community has unfortunately been tarnished. This community is therefore not on an equal plane with the rest of society. Hence, the first task that confronts us is to raise the South Asian Canadian community along with certain other visible minority communities such as the black and Native to the level of the rest of society. In order to do this the government may have to take deliberate policy measures to appoint qualified South Asian Canadians and other non-white individuals to strategic positions. There are a large number of qualified visible minorities who can serve on government sponsored committees and institutions. Public recognition of their abilities in this manner will create the necessary psychological climate to enable others to break away from the present stereotyped image. This will also speed up their social and economic mobility, which is a necessary condition for better race relations. As we have seen earlier, the main concern of the community, was

in the field of the recruitment and promotion policies of the Government. In order to remove their suspicion and also to give the Ontario ethnic community a fair deal, qualified members from their communities should be appointed on the Public Service Commission.

Other directions in which the government should move is to create better race relations within government departments themselves.

Like the police and teachers, our civil servants also appear to have not been well-equipped to service the multi-cultural society. In the absence of adequate training in the field of race relations, they are not really adequately qualified to administer equal opportunity policies. It is therefore necessary to review the content of staff training programs to include in them topics on race relations. Training programs should also take into consideration the special training needs of non-white employees.

As related policy measures, each ministry should have a Deputy Minister responsible for racial matters within its jurisdiction. For example in the U.K., the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State in the Department of Employment is also a minister with special responsibilities for racial matters in industry.

Moreover, whenever government contracts are given to outside bodies, anti-discrimination clauses should be

written into the contract and the contracting department should be responsible for monitoring and enforcing compliance with those clauses under the general supervision of the Human Rights Commission.

From our discussion so far, it is clear that the paramount responsibility for leadership and action rests of course with the government. A wide range of administrative and voluntary measures are needed to give practical effect to the objectivity of the law. Unless the government gives a firm lead on race relations, little can be expected from municipal authorities, employers and trade unions, etc.

(e) Opposition parties

Like government, the opposition parties too bear heavy responsibilities in the field of race relations. There comes a time when the Government in power wishes to introduce certain progressive measures to protect minority rights but very reluctantly feels unable to do so. This is because there is always a fear that perhaps opposition parties may try to make political capital out of their proposed measures by appealing to popular emotions to gain power.

The issue of racism, however, is such that it should be kept out of party politics. The British experience serves as a good reminder to politicians. Influential and powerful politicians such as the Rt. Hon. Enoch Powell and the Rt. Hon. Duncan Sand, tried to make race relations

a party political issue. Ironically they endangered their political careers on the same issue. Enoch Powell, who was a renowned statesman and scholar and once contested an election for the Conservative Party leadership, not only lost his position in Heath's shadow cabinet following his racial outburst in his Birmingham speech, but was also thrown out of his party and out of his riding in England. He contested the last election from Northern Ireland.

It is therefore necessary for the opposition parties and groups to join the government in launching a counter-attack on the racist elements in our society. Once it is clearly seen that all the major political parties are prepared to fight racial discrimination, we will have gone a long way towards creating a society which practices what it preaches in the field of race relations.

It would also be most desirable for various political parties to nominate members of non-white minority groups to local, provincial and federal elections. Similarly, political parties should deliberately appoint some non-white members to important positions in the party machinery. This will help the minority groups to identify themselves with the rest of society.

(f) Municipal governments

The municipal governments should develop and implement policies similar to those suggested for provincial government at all levels of their operations as well as in

relation to the various agencies they support.

In addition, these governments have direct responsibilities for creating better community relations. They are more close to the community than either the provincial or the federal government. Hence, they are in better position to foster harmonious relations between various groups. Each municipal government should establish a Sub-Committee on Race Relations with representation from local ethnic groups, the business community and representatives of various municipal departments. The work of this Committee would be mainly to provide social education and undertake other related services. This Committee should have an administrative staff headed by a director.

(g) Universities

It would be proper and desirable for universities to accept the fact that racial elements have found their way into academic institutions. Racism in universities is quite contrary to the basic principles on which universities are founded. The senate of each university should therefore establish a Sub-Committee on Race Relations to ensure that admissions and faculty appointments are governed by academic criteria and are not affected by racial considerations. There is a tendency in some university departments to restrict the racial composition of the department so as to include only one or two non-whites. Moreover to avoid suspicion about racial bias in the personality test for admission to medical schools, a member from ethnic groups should be appointed on the admission committee.

(h) The business sector

In recent years companies have shown a great awareness of their social responsibilities. They have taken considerable interest in such fields as pollution, conservation and local community affairs. They must now include improved relationships with minority groups among their social responsibilities. Minority groups are as keen and as entitled to seek well paid jobs with realistic terms and conditions of employment and to have aspirations for greater mobility as their white counterparts. The business sector must consider the promotion of harmonious workplace relationships and to catering to the legitimate aspirations of their employees belonging to minority groups as definite parts of their overall social responsibilities.

Initially, the lead in developing such a policy should come from chambers of commerce or employers' associations. Within their organizations, they could establish sub-committees on race relations and through those committees they could develop and implement equal opportunity policies throughout the business sector.

Such sub-committees can only issue guidelines concerning recruitment, training and promotion. The detailed work in this connection has to come from the management of each company.

First, the management of each company ought to issue a policy statement to the effect that recruitment, training and promotion in the company are carried out on the basis of ability and other objectively relevant criteria, and that sex, race, colour or origin do not constitute qualifying or disqualifying

factors. This policy should be communicated to all levels of staff so that everyone knows clearly where the company stands on racial matters.

Second, the company should examine their operations closely to ascertain whether (1) recruitment, promotion or training decisions are in fact based on pre-conceived notions of the capabilities or other characteristics of minority groups, (2) higher standards are required from non-white employees than others, or (3) qualified employees have been denied access to supervisory, managerial and administrative positions because of their race, colour, origin or sex.

Third, to maintain harmonious relationships between employees of different racial backgrounds, the staff training program should include courses on race relations.

Fourth, when a non-white person is employed or promoted to a senior position, he should be given initial backing from the top management until his position and authority is firmly established in the company. Without such backing, he may find himself being unseated by coffee room gossip mongers before he has any chance to prove himself.

Finally, the senior management cannot discharge its responsibilities merely by issuing a policy statement. If we examine the equal opportunity policy of some large companies, it might be quite possible to discover that the management of the company is sitting back complacently, boasting about its official policy while this is being totally ignored by

its employees at the grass roots level.

Thus it is imperative that the management of a company should develop appropriate methods for implementing and monitoring its policy on the question of equal opportunities for all. It should also avoid the temptation of assigning the task of implementation to line management as part of their personnel functions. Instead this should be the direct responsibility of the board through an officer of at least the rank of vice-president. It would be naive to assume that a personnel manager or officer will be in a position to exercise a strong influence on the social attitudes of employees.

(i) Trade unions

Trade Unions need to ensure that the labour force in Canada is not divided on racial lines and that non-white workers get a fair deal. This can be done on three levels: (1) educating its own members on the desirability of creating equal opportunity conditions for non-whites and also on the immigrants' background, (2) giving non-whites various responsibilities within the union structure, and (3) writing equal opportunity clauses into all relevant union agreements with employers.

The first two measures need no elaborate discussion. As regards the third, one is tempted to reproduce the model clauses which the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) circulated to affiliated organizations for inclusion in appropriate collective agreements.

The text of the model clauses is as follows:

"The parties to this agreement are committed to the development of positive policies to promote equal opportunity in employment regardless of workers' sex, marital status, creed, colour, race or ethnic origins. This principle will apply in respect of all conditions of work including pay, hours of work, holiday entitlement, overtime and shiftwork, work allocation, guaranteed earnings, sick pay, pensions, recruitment, training, promotion and redundancy."

"The management undertake to draw opportunities for training and promotion to the attention of all eligible employees and to inform all employees of this agreement on equal opportunity."

"The parties agree that they will review from time to time through their joint machinery, the operation of this equal opportunity policy."

"If any employee considers that he or she is suffering from unequal treatment on the grounds of sex, marital status, creed, colour, race or ethnic origins he or she may make a complaint, which will be dealt with through the agreed procedures for dealing with grievances."

(j) Professional bodies

Sometimes professional bodies are accused of preventing entry of immigrants to their profession in order to preserve their monopolistic position. However, it is not our objective here to examine whether this is true. What we wish to point out is that they have moral responsibilities toward their fellow professionals. They can fulfil this responsibilities by trying to assist them to overcome their professional deficiencies, if they exist.

This assistance can take several forms, depending upon the nature of the profession. The appropriate strategy would be either to grant them temporary licences and then ask them to appear for examinations or to arrange articleships for them for a year under existing practitioners and then examine them. In either case, they will get opportunities of familiarizing themselves with the Canadian environment as far as their

profession is concerned. This will help them to pass the professional examination also.

Employment agencies must also adopt a code of ethics with provisions that they will not entertain discriminatory requests from their client. If all agencies abide by this code, it would become hard for employers to operate discriminatory practices in hiring staff.

(k) The mass media

In recent years, every writer or speaker on racism has criticized the mass media for their role in the spread of racism. No useful purpose would be served by repeating these charges.

What we should consider here is how to use the mass media for creating better race relations.

The media exercises a considerable influence in moulding public opinion one way or the other. If this instrument is used positively in the field of race relations, the speed with which society will be able to attain social justice will be accelerated. It is necessary for the mass media to recognize their social responsibilities in this area. Traditionally, minorities look to the mass media as the custodians of human rights or as the social instrument for the protection of their interests. The mass media has performed this role extremely well in some areas but not in race relations. It is hoped that without further loss of time or damage to minority groups, the mass media will overcome the deficiencies in this area of their social responsibilities.

Some of the policy instruments which the mass media should

consider for creating better community relations are as under:

- (1) As in the business sector, the managements of newspapers and of television & radio stations must publicly declare their total commitment to the eradication of racial injustices from our society and take steps to ensure that suitable policies for this purpose are properly framed and effectively implemented.
- (2) It must be recognized that journalists are products of the existing educational system, which imparts very little information about people from the Indian sub-continent. They are therefore likely to have pre-conceived notions about the South Asian Canadian Community or for this matter other minority communities and these notions are likely to be reflected in their reporting. Equally, reporters are a part of society and as such are likely to be influenced by racist elements in it. However, journalists reach millions of readers, viewers and listeners every day. Hence, even slight racial overtones in their reporting writing or speaking (perhaps unintentional) are likely to produce considerable damage to race relations. Under these circumstances there is clearly a very serious need for educating journalists on racial matters. Newspaper and T.V. and radio station managements should take steps to bring this about.
- (3) In 1975, the Journalists' Union in England adopted a code of ethics in reporting racial matters. To

monitor this code, it set up a Race Relations Subcommittee. It would be worthwhile to do the same in Canada.

- (4) So far, there has been too much presentation of negative images of South Asian Canadians and other non-white groups in newspapers or on television or radio. The time has come when mass media should start projecting positive images of these groups. This can be achieved through documentaries, feature articles, and special reports, and by employing more non-whites on T.V. commercials, as reporters, or columnists and as guests or hosts on radio and television programmes.

- (5) Newspapers and T.V. and radio stations should set up citizens' advisory committees on racial matters.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the strategies that should be adopted for promoting a sound race relations policy. These strategies are based on commitment to action, persuasion, education and legal measures to ensure that equality of opportunity irrespective of race or colour is provided in employment and in every other aspect of life.

By definition, immigrants are different in some respects from the host community in language, culture, social customs, background and so on. For harmonious relations between various sections of the community, social education about these differences and their significance is essential.

Throughout our discussion in this chapter, it has been

stressed that the answer to racial tension lies in a powerful commitment to the establishment of a multi-cultural and multi-racial society. Advance towards this objective will require a combined national operation. It has also become clear that the Government has a special responsibility in this area. It must give strong leadership and set the right example.

It needs to be stressed that racial discrimination is wrong in itself and that inequality and prejudice are the enemies of a peaceful civilized society. Subtle and insidious changes in attitude on the part of public and private officials when they deal with South Asian Canadians are much harder to counteract than the crude violence of some street hoodlums.

Such discriminatory attitudes are extremely unproductive. They frustrate the energy and enthusiasm which an immigrant generally brings into this country and in the end drain away what would be a powerful human "energy resource" for Canad. We simply cannot afford the resentment, disillusionment and reaction which flow from treating a minority less favourably than the majority. The fight against discrimination and better race relations is therefore one for the health of society as a whole.

To change social attitudes, we have suggested that, in addition to social education and legislative actions, the Government should take deliberate action to appoint South Asian Canadians and other non-whites to strategic positions.

An average native Canadian will probably be adequately served by the private sector while the racially disadvantaged will be ignored unless the Government intervenes on their behalf. Moreover, such deliberate action will facilitate the high social and economic mobility which is a necessary condition for the success of a positive race relations policy.

It has also become clear that the responsibility for creating better race relations does not rest with the Government alone. In fact a large number of individuals and organizations, politicians of all parties, the churches, business leaders, trade unions, academics, the media and others must take a public stand in a more positive way in favour of equality and racial harmony, and against racism.

In summing up, one could conclude that public education, legislative action, Government leadership and deliberate measures to assist racially disadvantaged groups, are the four basic elements of a race relations policy. How these elements should be blended to form the right "mix" needs careful consideration.

To succeed, Government will need to balance the four elements of race relations policy in a skilful and judicious way. It will need to enlist the full support and participation of the minority and obtain at least the understanding and the sympathy of the white majority.

Policy Mechanism

7.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, we have discussed some policy planning strategies. In this chapter, we will discuss the nature of the mechanism through which these policies can be formulated and implemented.

A brief description will first be presented of the existing institutional arrangements in the province. The main functions that should be carried out by the institutional system will then be outlined. Some of the options available for setting up an institutional system for the carrying out of these functions will then be briefly set out with their main advantages and disadvantages.

To bring out the principles that should be kept in mind in the institutional arrangements under whichever option is chosen for adoption, one of the options is discussed in some detail and some comments are made on certain jurisdictional problems.

7.2. The existing institutional arrangements

Under the existing arrangements, a large number of departments and authorities are involved in the field of race relations. These include the Secretary of State, the Federal Ministry of Multiculturalism, the Ontario Human Rights Commission, the Multicultural Division of the Ministry of Recreation and the Social Planning Council.

Individually, each of these agencies appears to be doing good work. Collectively, however, they do not appear to have had a sufficiently powerful impact on the situation.

It is easy to see why this could be so. There is little coordination of effort among the various agencies. While there is a great deal of overlapping of activities and duplication of effort in certain areas, little or nothing is done by any of the agencies in others. The existing institutional set-up shows no evidence of any clear understanding of the main functions that need to be performed in the race relations area or of any effort to distribute these functions in some systematic way among different institutions.

7.3. Main functions

To produce a real impact on race relations, the functions performed by the various existing organizations and institutions and the various other functions that need to be performed but are not really performed at all by any of the existing institutions must be first logically organized. They must be made the responsibility of one or more agencies on a systematic basis.

The functions that need to be performed in the race relations area can be area can be broadly classified under three heads--community relations, law enforcement and research.

7.4. Institutional options

There appear to be three main options available regarding the way in which the carrying out of these functions can be organized, though some variations on these options may also be possible.

The first main option is to set up a single independent agency to plan and implement all the policies and programs relating to race relations in the province. It would carry out all the three functions described earlier and would in fact be a new enlarged and restructured Human Rights Commission.

The second main option would be to maintain the existing Human Rights Commission but allow it only to be responsible for the enforcement of the Human Rights Code and create two new institutions, one a new independent commission responsible for community relations and the other an independent institute responsible for research and publication. The third main option would be to create a new independent Community Relations Commission responsible to both community relations and research, while leaving the Human Rights Commission with only the responsibility for the enforcement of the Human Rights Code.

The most important issue of the first option is that under it all the inter-dependent functions necessary to ensure racial justice would be performed by a single body. This body would enforce the law, carry out public education and monitoring, advise the government and municipal authorities, and coordinate and support the activities of various sub-committees on race relations. There is no doubt that if this body is not properly managed, it may become a monolithic and bureaucratic institution. However, progressively increasing public involvement in the administration of the body would reduce this danger and enable it to discharge its functions efficiently and effectively.

The main advantage of the second option is that each of the three units proposed to be set up under this option would be more manageable and would have more freedom of action. However, the resulting separation of the three main functions that need to be performed in the area of race relations might result in some duplication of effort and consequent confusion. It would also make law enforcement and monitoring remote from the community.

The approach implicit in the third option is midway between the approaches underlying the first two options and has some of the advantages and disadvantages of both.

Whatever choice may be made among these options, it is necessary to ensure proper coordination of activities in this area among all levels of government. It is also necessary to ensure that representatives of all minority groups and of all sections of society are involved in the body or bodies that are created for the purpose. This philosophy should be reflected not only in the composition of the various bodies and advisory committees but also in the staffing of these bodies at all levels.

7.5. Approach to an enlarged Human Rights Commission

Whichever of the options is ultimately selected, certain principles will have to be kept in mind in setting up and operating the various institutions. To bring out these principles it is proposed to discuss here the organization and structure of the integrated single agency described as the first option. It is assumed here that this agency will be called the Human Rights Commission whether it is created as a new agency after dismantling the existing Commission or is created by enlarging and reorganizing the existing Commission and giving it greater powers and responsibilities. There may be advantages in adopting this second alternative since the present Human Rights Commission has been in existence for more than a decade.

In setting up the new Commission, it is necessary to keep two points in mind.

First, the Commission should be established as an independent agency answerable only to the provincial legislature. If the agency is put under a single ministry, it will be always overshadowed by the Minister concerned and its functioning will depend upon his interest and power. It may not

therefore be able to create as powerful an impact on relations as it would be able to do as an independent agency.

Besides, race related matters encompass a number of other fields such as education, housing, the police, community relations, etc. They thus involve a number of ministries and municipalities. A single independent agency would be able to deal with all of them on an equal basis.. Second, the Commission should have representation from all sections of society such as Government, business, municipal government, the media, educational institutions, labour unions, churches and ethnic communities. This is because race relations concern society as a whole and not only minority groups. It is through the combined efforts of all, that we will be able to have a meaningful impact on race relations in the province.

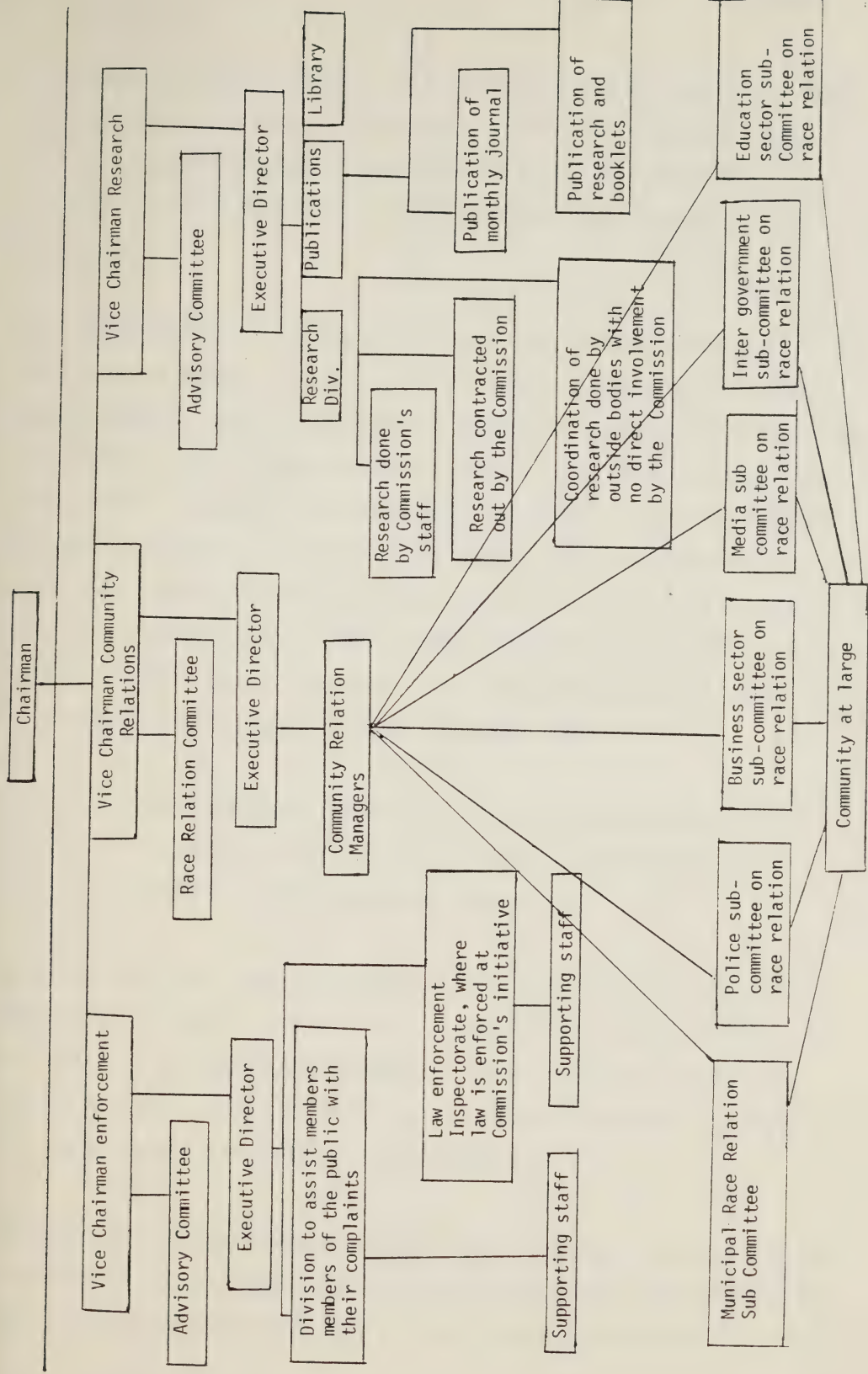
In considering the representation of the South Asian Canadian community on the new Commission, one needs to move away from the present practice of lumping together people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc. They are different groups of people and their representation needs to be considered separately. In the U.K., for instance, the British Government and the BBC have both taken special care to appoint one member from Pakistan and one from India on each of their commission and committee, wherever applicable. This helps to prevent intergroup conflicts. In Ontario, three members from the South Asian community - one from Pakistan, one from India and the third representing South Asian originating elsewhere - should be taken on the Commission.

There is of course need for limiting the size of the Commission. However the Human Rights Commissioners are not paid. It is therefore possible to be somewhat flexible about the size of this Commission.

Our guiding principle in selecting the members of the Human Rights Commission should be to maximise public participation in policy planning and implementation. While doing this we must take care that our selection procedure does not create intergroup rivalry. That would be counter-productive to the basic philosophy of Community Relations.

7.6. Illustrative structure of the enlarged Human Rights Commission

The administrative structure of the new Commission should be based on three main departments corresponding to the three main functional areas that need to be covered -- community relations, law enforcement and research. Diagram 7.1 presents a picture of what the structure of the Commission might look like.



The Commission should be headed by a full-time chairman who should be someone who could exercise a strong influence both on the government and on society at large. The effectiveness of race relations policy will depend on the chairman. A senior politician or business executive will probably be the best choice.

The chairman should be assisted by three part-time vice-chairmen, each of whom should be responsible for one of the Commission's three areas of work - law enforcement, community relations and research. The selection of the three vice-chairmen should be made on the same lines as that of the chairman. The vice-chairmen in charge of law enforcement and research should have separate advisory committees for their respective fields. This would encourage more public participation in each of the Commission's activities. The Advisory Committee on Law Enforcement should consist of lawyers, police officers and community workers, whereas the Research Advisory Committee should consist of academics, other social scientists, community leaders, etc.

Each of the three departments of the Commission should have an Executive Director as its administrative head, responsible for administration. He should be assisted by suitable supporting staff.

We assume that human rights legislation will give the victim of race discrimination or violence the right to take his case directly to the court, but will also give the Commission the power to investigate discrimination on its own initiative. The work of the Law Enforcement Department will therefore have to be divided into these two broad categories.

The Community Relations Department should have its own Race Relations Committee consisting of representatives from the provincial government, municipal governments, police, the business sector, the mass media and educational institutions.

In our last chapter we have suggested that each section of the community such as government, business, the police, the mass media, etc. should set up their own sub-committees on Race Relations. The Race Relations Committee in the Commission's Department of Community Relation should work as liaison between the Human Rights Commission and these different sub-committees on race relations. This committee should also work as a watch dog committee.

The main task of the Community Relations Department of the Commission should be to undertake mass social education. The Executive Director should establish direct working relationships with each sector through his community relations manager and provide each sub-committee with necessary back-up services.

Finally, each sub-committee should serve the community through a community relations officer.

Although the work of the Research Department is self-explanatory, some comments may be made about research and publications.

Research in the field of race relations would of course be undertaken by the staff of the Human Rights Commission itself. However, research will also be done by outsiders, and a certain amount of research may be sponsored by the federal government or other agencies. It is important that the Research Department of the Commission should coordinate the results of all such research as well as supply information to others engaged in the study of race relations. It should also publish a monthly journal which should contain feature articles as well as general information in the field of race relations. This department should also undertake publication of research studies and of short booklets on the socio-economic life of ethnic communities,

their readjustment problems, etc.

7.7. Some jurisdictional questions

Let us now turn to a discussion of jurisdictional problems. Here we are not considering legal or considering legal or constitutional aspects of jurisdiction. All three governments-federal, provincial and municipal-have responsibilities in the field of race relations. They should therefore take joint action in this area instead of each individual government pursuing its own policy in isolation. To ensure this, it is necessary to establish working relationships financial and otherwise between all these three levels of government.

The proposed Human Rights Commission would be in a good position to supervise this working relationship. For example, the Secretary of State should consult the Human Rights Commission when sponsoring research projects in the race relations field in the province. This would ensure that there is no duplication of research work and at the same time would keep the Commission informed of all research in this field that is being undertaken in the province. Similar working arrangements could be reached between the federal Ministry of Multiculturalism and the Community Relations Department of the Commission.

Inside the province, the existing Multicultural Development Branch in the Ministry of Culture and Recreation should be abolished and its work should be transferred to the Human Rights Commission.

7.8. Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter was to suggest some feasible policy instruments. Accordingly we have discussed three options. The first is to enlarge the Human Rights Commission and give it total control over all matters concerning race relations in the province such as law enforcement, community relations and research. The second is to create three independent organiza-

tions and the third is to create a new commission responsible solely for community relations and research in addition to the existing Human Rights Commission.

However, we left the selection of the option to the policy makers. Throughout this chapter, we have stressed the need for (a) cooperation between all levels of government, (b) more community involvement in planning and decision making and (c) a comprehensive attack on race relations issues on all fronts.

We hope that by organizing society's efforts in this manner we will accelerate the speed with which we attain social justice and equality.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1. Introduction

In this concluding chapter, we propose to bring together the main conclusions reached in the previous chapters.

8.2. Violence

We began our analysis by examining the pattern of violence. From the beginning we were interested in the pattern of violence rather than in the number of cases of violence. As there are no base year statistics, it was not possible to say in precise terms whether or not racial violence has increased. The number of cases reported to the police do not in any case give a correct picture of the extent of such violence. For a number of personal and practical reasons, very few cases are reported to the police.

From the evidence presented in this report, it became quite clear that racial violence is quite widespread and has become diversified. Racial violence touches every aspect of South Asian lives. South Asians have been attacked in trains, in buses, in their own cars, while walking in shopping plazas, in taverns, in restaurants, in parks, at the lakeside, at their place of business, at work, in prison, in front gardens, in back gardens, in garages, and in their own homes and apartments.

As regards to the trend of the racial violence, it appears to be still increasing but this increase is not noticable because (a) it is diversified (b) probably South Asians make less use of public places out of fear (c) very few cases are reported by victims, and (d) only few incidents are reported in the press.

We also found that other forms of action such as racial slurs, hate messages and harassment have increased considerably. While these actions are also extremely harmful to the victims, there is no legal remedy for them. This may be one of the reasons for the rise in such forms of harassment as compared with actual violence.

In fact the people concerned seem to shift their emphasis from physical attack to harassment according to the prevailing times and circumstances. It was also found that racial attacks were carried out by people of all ages and of varying socio-economic backgrounds.

It is not our intention to suggest that South Asians are attacked every time they go out but to stress that they do have the fear of such attack.

This fear has produced definite effects-internal as well as external-on the South Asian community, such as withdrawal from social and recreational activities, and quarrels within the family. Moreover certain groups among the South Asian community maintain that by not responding to racial attacks, the South Asian community in fact has encouraged further attacks. Hence they are preparing themselves for retaliation.

During our investigation, it also became clear that the South Asian community is rather unhappy with the police. Their main complaints against the police are that the police (i) do not respond in time to their complaints, (ii) do not take preventive or corrective action, and (iii) do not make serious attempts to issue summons.

The mutual mistrust between the police and certain sections of the Canadian Society such as the South Asians, is not healthy. Against this

background, two types of measures need to be taken. Firstly, immediate protection must be provided to minority groups and secondly social policies must be adopted that will help to bring about fundamental changes in the attitude of white Canadians.

The South Asian community is a part of Canadian society and therefore is entitled to have freedom of movement without fear. The state must ensure that they get this freedom and the police must play their part in this connection.

Having examined the South Asian community's experience and concerns in, the general area of racial violence, we directed our investigation into two specific areas of behaviour-educational institutions and employment.

8.3. Education

We commenced the chapter on education with the problems that the South Asian children encounter upon entering the schools for the first time. First we decided to analyse the problems faced by the South Asian children even in the absence of racism. These can be divided into internal and external problems. The internal problems are related to a new school situation, and given the necessary adjustment period, and sympathetic assistance and cooperation from teachers and other children, they can be overcome.

The external problems faced by South Asian children arise from the image teachers and students have about them and their socio-cultural background. This image is built into the present educational system. This system imparts knowledge to Canadians only about half of the world and does not

give them any information about the socio-cultural achievements of the other half, including South Asia. This is a serious flaw in the current educational system.

Subsequently, we opened our analysis, to incorporate the effects of a factor quite foreign to the educational system, viz. Racism, and found that South Asian children in schools are continuously subjected to racial slurs and physical assaults.

Thus, the South Asian child in the school is subjected to both internal and external pressures and at the same time he is confronted with racial problems. To bear such pressure at a relatively young age is too much for a child. His creative energy is dampened by these unrelated external forces over which he has no control. The ultimate result of all this is that his academic performance is affected considerably.

Finally, we examine the post-secondary sector. Here, the problems were not as explicit as they were in secondary institutions. This is because as we move up the educational ladder, racial prejudices take more subtle forms.

8.4. Employment

The South Asian community's experience concerning employment both in the private sector and in the public sector indicates that they suffer relatively greater hardship and obstacles in securing proper employment than their white counterparts. The labour market appears to have been concerned with productively irrelevant characteristics of workers such as race and citizenship. As a result South Asians face racial disadvantages in the Canadian labour market.

The methods by which South Asians are discriminated against take subtle forms.

The main subtleties examined were inflated or artificial education requirements and "Canadian experience". The latter is commonly used in all sectors. We therefore carried out an extensive examination of the Canadian experience concept and found that it is a discriminatory social phenomenon which results in keeping certain social groups out of the labour market. As this discriminatory phenomenon is concerned with economic conditions, social attitudes and psychological behaviour, we found that statistical tools were inadequate to examine this phenomenon. We therefore used techniques of descriptive analysis and supporting evidence.

8.5. Conclusions

What general conclusions can be drawn from this empirical investigation? Does this indicate that the majority of Canadians are racists?

The main purpose of this report was not to show that this was the case by cataloguing a number of complaints, rather, we tried to demonstrate that the racial hostilities manifested in racial violence and discrimination have permeated through levels of society, and that we should take decisive action to remove them from our society before they reach alarming proportions.

The racism results mostly from the social attitudes of white Canadians. The real test of racism takes place in times of difficulties and not in times of prosperity. It is only in times of difficulty that the real underlying feelings of people come to the surface.

Moreover, the combination of historical and social reasons indicates that certain sections of the white Canadian population sees South Asians as a threat to their dominant position in all walks of Canadian life. As a result, very systematic and subtle attempts are being made to create and cultivate racial hatred against the South Asian community through a multi-dimensional and multi-directional approach. Racial attitudes are then rationalized and justified. These attitudes are prevalent at all levels of government, in universities and other educational institutions, in private offices and factories, in shops, in residential areas and on the streets.

The South Asian community does not pose itself as and should not be looked upon as a competitive force but rather as a complementary force in Canadian society.

Culturally, socially and physically South Asian Canadians are different from white Canadians. Hence, there are readjustment problems on both sides. Usually certain sections of the host society show inflexible attitudes in the readjustment process mainly to preserve a dominant position. This generally triggers off the conflict.

The Canadian society is not a static society; it is a dynamic and plural society. Within this plural society, different cultures carry with them, from a long past, marked differences in the attitudes and ambitions they cherish. The peaceful co-existence of these different cultural groups within the broad framework of Canadian ideals is an essential pre-condition for our survival as a nation. The readjustment process has to be deliberate and not accidental. All social policies must be framed and constantly monitored to meet this objective. Hence, the main thrust of this document was to find ways and means of absorbing immigrant groups such as South Asians and others in Canadian society.

This has to be done by the society as a whole and not only by the government. This report therefore is to be looked at from this angle.

Racism has established a watertap pattern in relation to immigrants. During the post-war reconstruction period, the western economies suffered from labour shortages. Hence, policy measures were adopted to encourage massive immigration. As a result the native population began to see visible changes in the composition of the population. Public concerns were expressed through mass media and some political parties began to capitalize on public emotion.

Under public pressure, the governments then adopted some legislative measures such as restricting immigration, imposing a citizenship requirement for certain jobs, etc. This was followed by widespread discrimination in employment, and physical attacks on immigrant groups. The underlying assumption appeared to be that by explicit demonstration of racial hostility immigrants would get fed up and would leave the country through voluntary repatriation. As there is no restriction on leaving the country, repatriation is an open ended process. Certain element in society assume that by intensifying racial hostility, they may succeed in bringing about voluntary mass repatriation. These tactics do not work. Instead they promote racial hostility.

Society as a whole must demonstrate by deliberate and positive action that the message of such elements in our society is sterile. The South Asian immigrant community is not an invading force. South Asians have come here with the nation's expressed consent. They are not guest workers but uprooted transplants. People who gave up their home and relations to make Canada their home. The nation has every right to subject prospective immigrants to severe tests. But once they are accepted to join

the nation's family, then they must be accepted with open arms and be treated equally so that their skills are utilised properly without implicit and explicit barriers.

The immigration visa seals a moral contract between the immigrants and Canada in the sense that an immigrant undertakes to work for the economic prosperity of Canada and to defend Canadian national integrity and territories with all the strength at his command. On the other hand, Canada undertakes to honour his integrity and dignity and to protect his interests.

The South Asian community on its part is fulfilling its part of the moral contract. However, from our empirical investigation, it is clear that the nation has not yet completely fulfilled its parts of the contract. What is needed therefore is recognition of this reality and a willingness to rectify the situation. This has to be followed by appropriate measures. To quote Professor Myrdal, "Prejudice, discrimination and inferiority interact: the more prejudice the more discrimination and more inferiority. The more inferiority, the more prejudice and so on in a vicious spiral. But it works the other way too. Any measures taken to promote a non-discriminatory situation will diminish prejudice".⁽¹⁾ The time has come when we should forcefully reverse the vicious spiral.

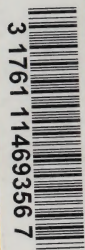
Over the years, Canada has projected the image of being a country which is engaged in establishing a new blend of society in which people of various cultures, religions, languages and racial compositions may peacefully co-exist. To translate this image into reality, society's

1) Gunnar Myrdal "An American Dilemma".

efforts need to be planned and implemented efficiently. In this connection this report has stressed the need for (a) cooperation between all levels of government, (b) more community involvement in planning and decision making, and (c) a comprehensive attack on issues concerning race relations on all fronts.

8.6. Policy recommendations

We have discussed some policy planning strategies and also the nature of the mechanism through which these policies can be formulated and implemented in Chapter VI and VIII respectively. These two chapters together thus constitute our main policy recommendations.



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